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Guil. Jane R. P. D. Hen.
Episc. Lond. a Sacris Dom.

OF IDOLATRY:

A DISCOURSE,

In which is endeavoured

A Declaration of, Its Distinction from

Superstition;

Its Notion, Cause, Commencement, and Progress;

Its Practice Charged on *Gentiles*, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Gnosticks*, *Manichees*, *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Romanists*:

As also, of the Means which God hath vouchsafed towards the Cure of it by the

SHECHINAH of His SON.

By *THO. TENISON*, B. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and late Fellow of *Corpus-Christi* College in *Cambridge*.

LONDON:

Printed for *Francis Tyton* at the *Three-Daggers* in *Fleet-street*, over against St. *Dunstans* Church, 1678.

To the Right Honourable ROBERT *Earl of* MANCHESTER, *One of the Gentlemen of his* Majesty's *Bedchamber, Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Huntington, *&c.*

My LORD,

IT is now a year, and almost another, since I wrote a Letter for private Use, about the *Worship of Images:* A Practice most scandalous to the Christian Religion, and (as some use it) so extremely ridiculous, that the very *Statue*, had it any apprehension, would modestly bow it self, and prevent the *Adorer*. From that small beginning has arisen a Book sufficiently big; but of the less solidity by reason of the hasty growth of it. More art, together with more hours of leisure would have made it a lesser Volume. For in writing of Books, as in carving of Statues, the cutting away of each superfluity is a work of skill and time.

But if this Volume were equally great and good, it would be the more ſuitable Preſent for your *Lordſhip*, to whom the Dedication of it is due, whether the *Author* be conſidered, or *that which he hath written.*

For the *Author* he hath had long dependance on your Honourable Family; ſuch as may almoſt be dated from that happy time in which theſe Iſlands were diſenchanted, and received their true and undoubted Soveraign, in place of that Spectre of Authority which then walked at *Whitehall.* He is poſſeſſed of one Living by the Bounty of the then Lord Chamberlain your Father, whoſe moſt generous kindneſs and condeſcenſion muſt for ever be remembred by him. And ſeeing the Noble offer makes the favour, and not the acceptance; he owes to your Lordſhip his acknowledgments for another. Many other Obligations from your *Honourable Perſon and Family*, and therein from *your moſt excellent Lady*, (whoſe eminent and exemplary Virtues ſurpaſs the very heighth of her Birth and Quality) as in Gratitude I muſt not forget, ſo in good manners I ought not here to repeat them at large; for it would be a rude abuſe of your Lordſhips patience to turn this Epiſtle into a ſecond Book.

For

For the Book it ſelf, ſome part of it was meditated, the whole reviſed at your Caſtle of *Kimbolton*; a place where your Lordſhip does yearly offer new matter to the admiration of Travellers, who ſpeak with ſuch praiſe of the *Fair Villa's of England*. It was enlarged, and now at laſt publiſhed, not without the deſire of ſome of your Lordſhips very Learned Relations, who by their own accurate Pens have made amends to the world for any trouble they may occaſion by mine. It hath already ſome hope of your favourable acceptance; and therefore it lays it ſelf with the greater aſſurance at the feet of your Honour.

Where it offendeth either *in Matter or Form*, (for in an heap of ſo many particulars ſome which are not very current may paſs through my hand undiſcerned;) I beg not Patronage, but excuſe.

In the matter, I would hope that the main of it is paſſable, becauſe I have uſed as its touch-ſtone the Doctrine and Worſhip of that Church, in whoſe Communion (by Gods good Providence) I have always lived, the Church of *England*: a Church of unparallel'd ſobriety and invincible Truth. The *Country* was one of the laſt of thoſe which the *Arms* of the ancient *Romans* ſubdu'd; and the *Church* is

ſuch

ſuch that it can never be conquered by the *Arguments of the Modern.*

It is true, I have ſaid many things which the Church hath not ſaid; for I was unwilling to diſguſt any curious Reader, by ſerving up nothing but what had formerly been often ſet before him. But againſt the Church I am not conſcious that I have written a ſyllable. And for ſome Speculations which might have been ſubject to miſconſtruction, I have committed them to (that which they call *the beſt keeper of Secrets*) the *Fire*. If any offenſive phraſe or notion have eſcaped me, as ſoon as I am ſhewed it, I ſhall be readier to blot it out, than I was ever to write it.

Touching my manner of writing, I crave leave to obſerve a few things about *the ſtile*, and *the temper* of this Diſcourſe.

Concerning *ſtile*, had it been my Talent, it had not been poſſible in ſuch an Hiſtorical and Philological Argument to have made any conſiderable uſe of it. A Diſcourſe into which the words of other men of differing Profeſſions, Ages, Countries, Languages and ſtiles, are ſo frequently woven, muſt needs be uneven and parti-coloured.

Concerning the *Temper* obſerved in this writing, I have endeavour'd to abſtain from all

all unneceſſary heat and ſevere Language. For I cannot perſwade my ſelf that the Witch-craft of Error can be removed, or ſo much as weakned by the meer ſcratches of the Pen. It hath alſo been my care not to miſrepreſent the opinions of thoſe from whom I differ. Yet I am ſenſible that this very Impartiality, with which I move in the middle path, will draw upon me the cenſorious laſhes of many Zealots who place themſelves on either hand. Thoſe whom *Jeſuitick Bygotry* poſſeſſeth will ſay I have maliciouſly blackned their Church. Others whoſe over-rigid humour muſt needs paſs for the only Proteſtancy, whoſe Religion ſheweth it ſelf in nothing but in a fierce and indiſcreet zeal againſt *Popery*, will think my Pen hath flattered. They will cry out that it hath imitated his pencil, who drew the looſe *Gabrielle* in the figure of chaſte *Diana*.

But I have (I hope) avoided both thoſe Extremes: Moſt certain I am, I have ſtudied to do ſo. And if juſt moderation muſt be blamed, I am willing to be a ſufferer in ſo good, ſo honourable a cauſe.

There are another ſort of Enemies of whoſe Cenſures I am alſo in ſome expectation, though in no fear at all: I mean the lower ſort of

Criticks, into whoſe Province of *Philology* I have ſometimes ſtepped. This ſort of men ſeemeth to me like thoſe wretched *Barbarians on the Coaſt of Guinea*, whoſe Idol is a certain *Bundle of Feathers*. Religious men of the warmeſt temper are not more earneſt about matters of Faith than theſe are in queſtions of wit, and debates about words and tittles. For though the intereſt of the thing they contend about be inſignificant, yet they think that power and maſtery in any thing is worthy their zeal. If I have but miſpelled the name of ſome Heathen-god, I expect ſevere uſage from ſuch Grammarians. But though they ſhall prove angry, I will not retaliate. It is not worth the while to keep up a controverſy begun about a trifle, and to bandy light matters backward and forward by eternal diſpute.

But I treſpaſs upon your Honour by the liberty of this Diſcourſe, and by introducing theſe Pedantick people who make ſo abſurd a figure in Courts.

This only I have to add: If there be any thing uſeful in this writing, I know your Lordſhip will accept it for its own ſake. And for that which is uſeleſs, or defective,

defective, I hope it may obtain pardon through the ſubmiſſion of the Author, who is,

From Dr. *Lawſon's* houſe in *Mincing-Lane* in *London*, *March* 16, 1677.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obliged

and Obedient Servant,

THO. TENISON.

Vossius de Idololatria : 2: T: 1668
Tenison of Idolatry — — 1678
Cudworth Intellect: System — 1678
Stillingfleet Idolatry — 1673.

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ERRATA.

PAg.7. lin.14. for, of a remorse, read, of remorse. p.12. l.13. f. *Friebert* r. *Freiberg*. p.26. l.17. f. *Deitas* r. *Deütas*. p.34. l.2. f. notions r. motions. p.40. l 20. f. Families of *Cain* and *Lamech* r. Family of *Cain*. p.41. l.32. & p.47. l.33. f. Loyn r. Line. p.42. l.18,19. f. Commical r. Conical. p.43. l.6. f. *Vatallus* r. *Vatablus*. p.48. l.18. f. ascendeth a Pyramis r. ascendeth in a Pyramis. p. 196. l. 25. f. opposite r. apposite. p. 230 Marg. for *Virgine* r. *Virgini*. p. 249. Marg. f. *quid* r. *quod*. p.324. l.20. f. re-acting r. reaching. p. 338. l. 18. f. man r. mean. p. 355. l.26. blot out *and*. p.385. l.6,7. f. Heaven r. Heathen. In p. 385,387,389. there is left out in the Title on the top. *with Relation to the worship, &c.* p.400. l.2. f. He r. We. p.410. l.23. f. second r. third. p.413. l.21. f. chres r. sepulchres.

Other Mispellings and little mistakes are left to the candor of the Reader, who is desired as he peruseth the Book, to cast his eye sometimes upon the *Review* at the end of it, a few amendments and additions being there subjoined.

CHAP. I.

Of the notions of Superstition and Idolatry, as they are usually confounded; and as they ought, of right, to be distinguish'd.

I Know not how I can better begin this discourse concerning Religious Worship, than by imitating the Prologue of *Origen*, or rather of *Maximus*, to his dispute against the Heresie of *Marcion*. In the entrance of that Dialogue, he (*a*) maketh a right opinion concerning God to be the Basis and Foundation of *Universal Goodness*. Men are imperfect, and oftentimes the more they are known, the less they are honoured; insomuch, that distance and reservedness is made use of, especially among the Eastern Princes, as the necessary instrument of Veneration. But God is a Being absolutely perfect; and the better he is understood, he is worshipped with the more rational Religion, and with the profounder Reverence. *God is that One, Supreme, Infinite, Spirit; who by Almighty Power, Wisdom and Goodness, made and governeth the World.* And if men entertained such a notion of him, instead of those rude and false draughts, which are pictur'd in their vain Imaginations, they would pay him an homage more agreeable to his Divine, and to their own reasonable, though humane nature. They would then serve him with that pure Religion, or sincere Christi-

(a) *Orig. cont. Marc. S. 1. p. 2.* βάσιν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἐδραίωμα εἶναι πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν Θεῷ δόξαν τε καὶ πίστιν.

 anity,

anity, which is not adulterated either with *Idolatry* or *Superstition*. Of these, the notions being so commonly entangled, that *Hesychius* expoundeth the name, δεισιδαίμων [a superstitious person] by εἰδωλολάτρης [an Idolater]; and the translators of the *Psalms* * render ματαιότητας διακενῆς, the vain or empty (that is, the exceeding) vanities of Idols, by superstitious vanities: I will in the first place offer to the Reader a distinct consideration of them.

Psal. 31. 7.

Superstition, if we have regard only to the bare derivations of its names in the *Greek* or *Latin* Tongues, is no other than a single branch of Idolatry. It is the worship of the *Divi*, *cœlestes semper habiti*, (as the Law of the twelve Tables speaketh) that is, of the Sempiternal Dæmons; and also of those, *Quos in cœlum merita vocârunt* (as the same Law distinguisheth); of such Hero's and superexisting Souls as were, through their eminent and exemplary virtue, translated from Earth to Heaven. Yet in the notion of *Plutarch*, δεισιδαιμονία, or Superstition, consisteth not so much in the bare worship of such invisible Powers, as in that servility and horror of mind which possessed the worshippers, and inclin'd them (like those who flatter Tyrants) to hate them, and yet to fawn on them, and to suppose them apt to be appeased (*b*) by ceremonious and insignificant crouchings. Use hath further extended the signification of the word; insomuch, that sometimes it comprehendeth, not only all manner of Idolatry, but also every false and offensive way, which disguiseth it self under the colour of Religion. Thus *Socrates* the Historian, (*c*) when he mentioneth the signs which *Julian* gave of his proneness to Superstition he meaneth by that word the whole Religion of the Gentiles.

b *Plut. de superst.* p. 167.-- κολακεύουσιν καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν, &c.

c *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 1. p. 168. -- κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν ὅπως εἶχε περὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐδείκνυε.

But there is still behind its proper and especial no-

notion; and the Synod of *Mechlin* hath attempted to ſet down a true deſcription of it. The Council of *Trent* having commanded the aboliſhing of all Superſtition, the Fathers of this Synod go about to explain the meaning of that Precept; and they do it (*d*) after the following manner. 'This Synod (ſay they) "teacheth, that all that uſe of things is ſuperſtitious, "which is performed without [the warrant of] the "Word of God, or the Doctrine of the Church, by "certain cuſtomary rites and obſervances, of which "no reaſonable cauſe can be aſſigned: And when truſt "is put in Them, and an expectation is raiſed of an "event following from ſuch Rites, and not hoped for "without them, from the interceſſion of the Saints. "Alſo when, in the worſhip of Saints, they are done "rather out of raſhneſs and lightneſs, than out of Pi-"ety and Religion. But this deſcription is in many reſpects defective. For many of the Uſages which it decrieth, do not relate to Religion, and they deſerve rather the names of follies, impertinences, and ludicrous inchantments: unleſs a man would diſtinguiſh concerning the kinds of Superſtition, and call ſome, the *Superſtitions of common life*, and others, the *Superſtitions of worſhip*. The rites of the former kind become the more Superſtitious, if their event be expected from ſome preſumed Saint; for then an impertinent cuſtom becomes an impiety, or the uſage of a Magical charm, by which inviſible powers are depended on, for the production of viſible effects. If (for inſtance ſake) a man ſhall fall into that conceit which hath poſſeſſed many, even *Origen* (*a*) himſelf, that certain names ſignifie by nature, and not by inſtitution; and that an event will follow from a certain ceremonious pronunciation, or other uſe of them, he meriteth the Title of a Trifling and Credulous Philoſopher.

(*d*) *Concil. Mech. inter. Conc. Max. c. 3. de Imag.* p. 801.

(*a*) *Origen. cont. Celſ.* l. 5. p. 261, 262.

ſopher. But if he maketh ſuch uſe of words [ſuppoſe of *Adonai* or *Sabaoth*, which *Origen* believeth to loſe their vertue, if turn'd into any other language:] and hopeth thence for the event from God, through the interceſſion of ſome Spirit; he deſerveth the reproof due to a ſuperſtitious man, who, by ſuppoſing a Divine attendance on his Trifles, doth highly diſhonour God and his Saints.

Neither doth the Synod of *Mechlin* abſolve ſuch Rites from the guilt of Superſtition, by adding to the interceſſion of Saints the preſcription of the Church; for that cannot alter the nature of things, though it may render ſome Rites, indifferent in their nature, expedient, not to ſay, neceſſary, in point of obedience, for the preſervation of Peace and Order. If Rites of worſhip are exceeding numerous under Chriſtianity; if they are light and indecent; if being in themſelves indifferent, or decent in their uſe, they are impoſed, or obſerved as neceſſary duties; the ſtamp of Authority does not much alter the property of them. Wherefore others (*b*) have, in more accurate manner, defined Superſtition; "A worſhip rela-
"ting to God, proceeding from a certain inclination
"of mind, which is commonly called a good intenti-
"on; and ſpringing always from mans brain, ſeparately
"from the Authority of the Holy Scriptures. But neither in this definition are we to reſt: For if the reaſon of mans brain anſwers the Piety of his intention, the worſhip which he offereth, though not commanded in Scripture, if not forbidden by it, may be grateful to God. I ſhould therefore chuſe, in this manner, to deſcribe Superſtition. "It is a corruption of publick
"or private worſhip, either in the ſubſtance, or in
"the Rites of it; whereby men (actuated by ſervile
"motives) perform, or omit, in their own per-

b *Reform. Lig. Eccleſ. Tit. de Idol. &c. c. 6. de Superſtit.* p. 32.

"ſons;

" ſons; or urge upon, or forbid to others, any thing as " in its nature Religious or Sinful, which God hath " neither required, nor diſallowed, either by the Prin- " ciples of right Reaſon, or by his revealed Will. It is " the paying of our Religious Tribute, to God or an " Idol, in Coin of our own mintage. The poſitive " part of it is the addition of our own numberleſs, ab- " ſurd, or decent, inventions, to the preſcriptions of " God, in the quality of Laws and Rites, equal, or " ſuperior to thoſe by him enacted.

Firſt, An obſervance of a very great number of ſuch Rites and Ceremonies in the worſhip of God, as admit of excuſe or praiſe in their ſingle conſideration, is a part of this Superſtition: For it prejudiceth the ſubſtance of our duty, by diſtracting our attention, and is unagreeable to the Chriſtianity which we profeſs; becauſe it is not, as was the *Moſaic*, a Typical Religion. The *Greek* Church, as well as a great part of the *Latin*, aboundeth (*a*) with Ceremonies; and the Rituals are of ſo great a bulk, that they look like Volumes too big for the very Temple, much more for the Church. Neither (probably) ſhould ſuch a number of Rites have ever been impoſed on the Jews, if their ritual temper, their converſation with a people of like ritual diſpoſition, and the uſe of Types in ſhadowing out the *Meſſiah*, had not mov'd the Wiſdom of God to preſcribe them.

a See their many ceremonies towards the very elements before conſecr. in *Stat. Hodiern. Eccleſ. Græc.* p. 86. 87. and in receiving, in *Chriſtoph. Angel.* 1597. p. 20.

The late pretender to the *Latin* Text, and *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Order, and Canon of the *Maſs*, (*b*) conſcious, one would think, of the abſurdneſs of the Romiſh ceremonioufneſs; at leaſt of the appearance of it, as ſuch, to the reformed in *England*; has in leſs than Thirty Croſſes omitted more than Twenty. He hath never mentioned the Incenſing of the Altar, the Book, the Prieſt: He hath left out, ſometimes in his *Latin*,

b J. B's Great Sacr. of the new Law exp. by the Figures of the old. Printed, An. 1676.

Latin, and oftner in his *Engliſh*, a great number of Rites enjoyned the Prieſt, and dayly performed by him. I will give a few inſtances in both kinds.

In the very beginning of the Order of the Maſs, this is the authentick Rubrick. (*a*) The Prieſt being accouſtred, when he goeth to the Altar, after having done due reverence to it, he ſigneth himſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, from the forehead to the breaſt; and with a loud voice, ſaith, *In the name of the Father.* Inſtead of this, *J. D.* thus beginneth his Order. *Sacerdos, ad Gradum Altaris, dicit, in nomine, &c. The Prieſt at the foot of the Altar, ſaith, In the name of the Father.* In the Repetition of the Creed, the Prieſt is required, (*b*) when he ſaith, *Deum*, *God*, to bow his Head to the Croſs; when he ſaith *Jeſus Chriſt*, to do the like: So that they are together ador'd. When he ſaith, *And was incarnate*, to kneel till thoſe words, *And was made man.* When he hath ended, to croſs himſelf from the forehead to the breaſt. All this *J. D.* hath omitted, both in his *Latin* and *Engliſh* Pages (*c*). In his pretended Verſion, he thus rendereth, (*d*) *Genuflexus, adorat, ſurgit, oſtendit Populo*; Here the Prieſt elevates the ſacred Hoſt: whereas this is the genuine Tranſlation, Here the Prieſt, with bended knee, adoreth the Hoſt: Then he riſeth up, and ſheweth it to the People.

a *Miſſ. Rom. Par.* 1660. p. 210. *Sacerdos paratus cum ingreditur ad Altare, factâ illi debita reverentia, ſignat ſe ſigno crucis a fronte ad pectus. & clara voce dicit, In nomine, &c.*

b *Miſſ. Rom. In Ord. Miſſ.* p. 213.

c *J. D.* Order of the Maſs, *p.* 18. 19, *&c.*

d *J. D.* Canon of the Maſs. p. 36. 37.

Again, There is a ſuperſtitious levity and want of decence in many Rites, which render them unfit for the ſolemnity of Divine Worſhip. The watchings of women on the Eve of the Nativity, together with the conſequent nurſings and rockings, uſed ſometimes by thoſe of the Roman Communion, are in ſome degree ſuperſtitious. They are apt to raiſe in the mind a mean and common Idea of our Lord's birth, and they give manifeſt occaſions to profane men, to make ridi-

ridiculous a very ſolemn part of our Chriſtian Faith. In the worſhip and proceſſion of ſome Images, the Rites are ſo apiſh, that they are fit only for the ſervice of ſuch an Idol, as that in *India*, ſpoken of by *Vincent le Blanc*, which had its Statue made of the Tooth of a Monkey. The very Rituals, and Miſſals, and Ceremonials of *Rome* preſcribe, too often, very idle and unbecoming Rites, and make a kind of Farce to be the part of the Prieſt, or rather his humour, who in Carneval-time, went dreſſed half in the *Spaniſh*, and half in the *French* faſhion. (*a*) They forbear not ſuch levity in the very uſe of the Keys: For if a perſon dieth excommunicate, but with teſtimonies of a remorſe, the *Roman* Ritual directeth the Prieſt to give him Abſolution (*b*) by whipping the Body, if it remaineth unburied; or the Grave, if the Corps be in it, and it ſelf be part of the conſecrated Ground. A like mimical indecence is enjoyn'd by the *Roman* Miſſal (*c*) on a very ſolemn time, the Eve of *Eaſter*. By order of that Miſſal, all the Lights of the Church are extinguiſh'd, that they may again be lighted by new conſecrated Fire. Proceſſion is made, and the Deacon, who carries on a Pole three Candles in Triangular diſtance, does enter the Church with much Ceremony, and lighteth one of the extinguiſhed Candles, and cryeth out, *The light of Chriſt.* He proceeding to the middle of the Church, lighteth a ſecond Candle, crying out again, *The Light of Chriſt.* At laſt, approaching the Altar, he lighteth a third, and cryeth with a louder voice, *The Light of Chriſt.* Nor is there yet an end; for further poſtures, and lightings of Candles, eſpecially of a great one in the Pulpit called *Cereus*, and of Lamps, are in ſuch ſort required (*d*), that the whole Ceremony looketh more like to the play of Children, than to the worſhip of Chriſtian men.

a *Laſſels* in *Voy. to Italy.* p. 190.

b *Ritual. Roman.* p. 61. 62. *Ed. Antv.* 1617.

c Miſſale Roman. *in Sabbato Sancto.* p. 187, 188. *Ed. Parii*, 1660. See Pontif. Rom. *de officio Sab. Sanct.* fol. 192, &c.

d *Miſſ. Rom.* p. 189.

Of

Of the like levity most of their forms of Consecration may be justly accused. Such is that of the Benediction of a Bell, (*a*) which is ceremoniously washed with Salt-water, and Crossed by the Bishop, and by his Ministers carefully wiped.

a *Pontif. Rom.* part 2. fol. 68, *&c.*

Such is that of the Dedication and Consecration of a Church, in which the Bishop filleth the Two Diagonal Lines of the *Area*, with the *Latin* and *Greek* Alphabets, writing first from the Corner on the left-hand at his entrance, the Row of the *Greek* Letters, with the end of his Pastoral-Staff; and then the *Latin* ones from the corner on his right-hand. (*b*)

b *Pont. Rom.* part 2. fol. 113, *&c.*

Lastly, Such is that of the Benediction of Chrism, (*c*) or a mixture of Balm and Oyl. There the Bishop breatheth three times Cross-wise, over the Chrismal Phial. Then Twelve Priests, after having bowed in order to the Sacrament on the Altar, and the Bishop, proceed to the Table where the Phial is placed. There they successively imitate the Bishop, breathing three times cross-wise over the mouth of the Vessel: which being done, together with their obeisance, a second time to the Sacrament, and the Bishop, they retire for a season. Now it is not readily imagined, by what vertue such forms as these affect the *Italians*, who are a grave and steddy people. Neither are the Rites solemn enough, which the *Greeks* sometimes observe; as appeareth at large in *Goar* and *Habertus*. And, methinks, those *Greeks* at *Jerusalem* (*e*) might have better employ'd their Artists, than in making a narrow passage through two Pillars, in order to their creeping through, in imitation of the strait Gate, which leadeth to Life Eternal.

c *Pontif. Rom.* part 3. fol. 186.

e Journey of 14 *English* to *Jeruf.* p. 29.

Last of all, The Laws and Rites of Worship which man inventeth, how few and decent soever they appear, become Superstitious, as soon as they are made

equal

equal with the express Laws of God. This Superstition our Saviour condemned in the Pharisees, who usurped the Legislative Power of God, and taught sometimes for necessary Doctrines the commandments of men. (*a*) They made some of their Traditions equal to the most Moral Laws of *Moses*: Nay, they often were more fond of the Issue of their own Fancy, than of the Edicts of God. They were wont to say, (*b*) That *the words of the Scribes were more amiable than the words of the Law.* Also, That *the words of the Elders were more weighty than the words of the Prophets.* Many of them vilified the Written Word in comparison of the *Cabala*, or Oral Tradition of the Elders, which they call'd *The Foundation.* They held the breach of a Traditional Rite, to be as capital as the violation of a Moral Law; *Rabbi Jose* teaching, That *the eating of bread with unwashed hands, was as great a wickedness as the humbling of an Harlot* (*c*). Hence our Saviour defended the breach of this Tradition by his Disciples, not as it was an innocent Ceremony, but as it was imposed as a necessary part of Religion: the neglect *of which defil'd a man*, (*d*) and rendered him as guilty in Gods sight, as if he had broken a written Law. Nay, they judged of their Saintship rather by the obedience they paid to their own Inventions, than by their observation of Gods Commands. Thus, by the device of their *Corban*, they made a false estimate of Charity; believing themselves Righteous, whilst they violated the indispensable Law of Love to their Parents.

a *Matt.* 15. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9.

b *Hieros. Beracoth, fol.* 3. *ap. D. Lightf. in Matt.* 15. 2. p. 185, 186.

c See *Drusius*, on *Matt.* 15. 2.

d *Matt.* 15. 20.

Some Usages there are not commanded by God, yet acceptable to him, if our high estimation of them, and our indiscreet zeal in their use or imposition, does not become the dead Fly in the Spikenard. I cannot discern such Superstition, as others think they have

done, (*a*) in uncovering the Head when a light is brought in, and praying for the light of Heaven. I know not what Irreligion there is, in uſing the like Ceremony when our Neighbour ſneezeth; and in wiſhing his health, or bleſſing God for his deliverance from the offenſive vapour. I mean this, of thoſe perſons by whom it doth not appear, but that the inward intention doth accompany the outward ſign. A prudent Chriſtian is not offended at him, who on a ſolemn occaſion maketh the ſign of the Croſs on himſelf, as an external ſign of his Chriſtian Religion. Neither doth he cenſure thoſe, who well underſtanding their own tempers, do uſe faſting before the Euchariſt, as an help to devotion: or thoſe who uſe abſtinence on a *Saturday* with diſcretion; by way of preparation (as is alledged (*b*) by ſome) for the Holy-day which ſucceeds it. And he is not well-grounded in the Faith and Charity of a Chriſtian man, who brandeth all thoſe with Superſtition, that comply with the Church of *England* in her Rites, which are neither in their number many, nor indecent, or immoral in their nature; neither are they required as Uſages in themſelves neceſſary to Salvation. They are enjoyned and uſed for the ſake of order and comelineſs, without which a Church is as it were undreſſed, and expoſed in ungrateful and unbecoming circumſtances, to the devout, who with Reaſon conceive ſome diſguſt, as well at the nakedneſs, as at the paint of their Mother.

There are, then, certain Free-will-offerings both of Churches and ſingle perſons, which God Almighty [who as Learned men think, accepted voluntary Sacrifices of Thankſgiving in the infancy of the World; and who moſt certainly accepted of voluntary dedications of Feaſts under the very Law of *Moſes*,] will not

(*a*) *Calvin. Light of Nat.* c. 17. p. 176. Some ſuperſtitious ones, how devoutly do they complement with a Candle, &c?

(*b*) Abridgement of Chriſt. Doctr. in Expoſ. of the Comm. of the Church of *Rome*. p. 166.

not deſpiſe under Chriſtianity; when they are preſented with piety, humility and prudence. But if any ſhall perform or enjoyn ſuch Rites, under the notion of indiſpenſable duties; if they ſhall value them as the weightier matters of Religion, and impoſe them, as ſuch, with fierceneſs and intemperate zeal; or if by negative ſcrupulositie, they ſhall place Religion in the meer abhorrence of them; they ſo far ceaſe to be truly devout, and become ridiculouſly and uncharitably ſuperſtitious. God hath not required ſuch things at their hands in ſuch manner, or ſuch a mighty dread of them; neither is he pleaſed with ſuch *Will-worſhip*. Softer words are not to be uſed towards them who ſo highly exalt their imagination, as to make it the meaſure of Gods Will, and inforce thoſe obſervances, or omiſſions, as heavenly Laws which the great Governour of the Church hath left to the diſcretion of his Chriſtian Subjects. Their Uſurpation is inſufferable, who make more duties and ſins than God commandeth or forbiddeth: And nothing but blind and ſlaviſh Superſtition ſubjecteth the neck to their uneaſie yoke. (*a*)

Let this little ſuffice here, concerning that corruption in the Laws, Rites and Motives of Worſhip; it being only ſpoken in the way to my direct Theme of Idolatry, by which the object of Worſhip is depraved.

(*a*) *Lutherus reſtituente Hoſnero in Saxon. Evang. p.* 110. *nihil peſtilentius in Eccleſiâ poteſt doceri, quam ſi ea quæ neceſſaria non ſunt, neceſſaria fiant. Hâc enim Tyrannide—— mendacium pro veritate, Idolum pro Deo—— colitur.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Notion of Idolatry.

IDolatry is either Metaphorical or Proper. By Metaphorical Idolatry, I mean that inordinate love of Riches, Honours, and bodily Pleaſures, whereby the paſſions and appetites of men are made ſuperior to the Will of God: Man, by ſo doing, making as it were a God of himſelf and his ſenſual temper. The Covetous man worſhippeth *Mammon*; he valueth his Gold, ὡς Ἄγαλμα θεῖον, in the language of *Philo* (*a*), *as a Divine Image:* As if the Image of God were caſt, in eminent manner, in that thick Clay ſpoken of by the Prophet, with which the *Iſſachars* of the world do lade themſelves. Such Idolatrous eſtimation of Money, gave to a Mine in *Friebert*, which contained in it exceeding rich Ore, that high and mighty name of *Himmelfurſt*, or the Prince of Heaven. The Ambitious man, rather than he will want high place, or popular fame, he will in unjuſt Wars, and unreaſonable Duels, offer himſelf a ſacrifice to Honour; an Idol on whoſe Altars more blood hath been profuſely ſhed, than on thoſe of *Moloch* or *Bellona*. To the Glutton, (as *Tertullian* in his Book of Faſting ſaith of him, after his ſharp manner,) "His Belly is his God, his "Paunch is his Altar, his Cook is his Prieſt, his Saw-"ces are his Graces, and his Belching is Propheſie. The unchaſt man owns nothing ſo Divine as his Harlot, and borroweth the phraſes of his Courtſhip, from the Goddeſſes and the Shrines, the Temples and the Altars, of the Theologers of the Gentiles, that is, their Poets. Now this exceſſive value of the things of the World,

(*a*) *Philo Jud. de Monarch. l.* 1. p. 813.

World, is a very high and impious preſumption: But becauſe it ſetteth not up Mammon or the Appetite, as a god, or an object of Religious worſhip; therefore I call it Metaphorical, and not Proper Idolatry; in which latter ſubject only, I am at preſent engag'd.

This kind of Idolatry which I call Proper, is by many ſuppoſed a matter of nice and difficult ſpeculation. They think the notion of it too abſtruſe for common heads; yea, too hard for ſome Scholaſtick ones, which are not very accurate in dividing a *Cummin-ſeed.* And yet the Holy Writers do every-where reprove the people for this ſin, ſuppoſing its nature to be commonly underſtood: and ſure it is no other than that which is briefly deſcrib'd by St. *Cyprian* and *Hilary.* "Then (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) is Idolatry com-"mitted, when the Divine Honour is given to ano-"ther. So *Hilary* the *Roman* Deacon (ſometimes mi-"ſtaken for St. *Ambroſe*,) doth, in this, place the na-"ture of Idolatry, That it uſurpeth the Honour of "God, and challengeth it in right of the creature. Not unlike to theſe deſcriptions is that which we find in the Book of the Reformation (*b*) of Eccleſiaſti-cal Laws, begun by *Henry* the Eighth. "Idolatry "(ſaith that Book) is a Worſhip, in which not the "Creator, but the creature, or ſome figment of man "is adored. To this worſhip of the Creature, the Scripture doth frequently give the name of uncleanneſs. This it hath done, partly in compliance with the Jewiſh Idiom, which calleth any thing that is deteſtable, dirty or unclean; the perſons of that people being deſecrated by corporal pollutions. It hath alſo done it, by reaſon of thoſe very unchaſt Actions and Rites, by which many of the Idols of the Gentiles were ſerved; though in the worſhip of ſome few, and particularly in that of *Veſta*, the great obſervance was

b *Reform. Leg. Eccleſ. Tit. de Idol.* c. 2. p. 32.

Chaſtity. But the Scripture hath, eſpecially, given to Idolatry that name of uncleanneſs, becauſe it was an alienation of the hearts and bodies of the Jews from the God of *Iſrael*, who had, as it were, choſen that Church as his Spouſe on Earth. For the like Reaſon Witchcraft is a ſort of Idolatry, becauſe it breaketh Covenant with God, and entreth into ſolemn league and compact with Dæmons.

Now if this common notion ſeemeth, too briefly, or too generally propounded, I am ready to make a particular enlargement of it in the following definition. "Idolatry is a ſin, which by inward reverence or out-"ward ſigns, giveth to ſome other object, in an act or "habit of Religious Homage or Worſhip, that Ho-"nour which is either eſſential to God; or being com-"municable, yet appertaining to God only till he "hath declared his actual communication of it, is ei-"ther not at all communicated, or not in that extent "or continuance of vertue, which ſeemeth thereby to "be attributed to it. This definition containeth in it three branches, which are alſo three degrees of Idolatry.

Firſt, The Idolater giveth away, ſometimes, the eſſential and incommunicable Honour of God. This he doth two ways; firſt, when he dethroneth God in his imagination, and ſetteth up ſome other object in his place. Thus the *Babylonians* offended, whil'ſt they adored the primitive *Baal*, the Sun, as the beſt and greateſt Deity, not only in their World or Empire, but likewiſe throughout the Sphere of all things. He doth it, *Secondly*, when admitting of God, he addeth another principle equal to him; for he that divideth the Empire of God, diminiſheth his Honour: He makes him ceaſe to be God, that is, to be One and Supreme. This preſumption *Pliny*, (*a*) chargeth, in

(*a*) *Plin. nat. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 3.

in effect, on *Democritus*, giving to his two Principles, the names of *Pœna* and *Præmium*, Puniſhment and Reward; or (as I think) more properly, Avenger and Rewarder. The like fault is found in the *Perſian* Theology, which conſtituteth (as they ſay) two Principles; the one the fountain of Good, under the name of *Oromaſdes*; the other the ſource of Evil, under the name of *Arimanius:* Although it may appear from *Theodorus*, in his Book (*a*) of the *Perſian Magick*, that both (according to *Zarasdas* or *Zoroaſter*) were the off-ſpring of *Zaruam*, who was own'd as the Prince of all things, and the Father of *Hormiſda* and *Satanas*, and called τύχη, or Fortune. Such Idolatry is likewiſe charged on the *Americans* of *Mexico*, who are reported (*b*) to have had Two thouſand gods, and amongſt them two principal ones, *Tezcatlipuca* the god of providence, and *Vitzilopuchtli* the god of the wars. It may be that there was a Deity own'd by them ſuperiour to both theſe: For what elſe was intended by that great and ſuperiour Image plac'd on the top of the Chappel of Idols (*c*) in the City of *Mexico*? It was either the Statue of the Supreme God, or of the ſupreme Demon of their Precinct. And why ſhould it not be thought that *Mexico* own'd one God as well as *Peru*, in which the Soveraign Principle (as *Acoſta* inſtructeth us) was called *Pachacamac* and *Viracocha*, inferiour to whom they eſteemed the Sun and Thunder, their two Principles, (as I gueſs) of Good and Evil.

a *Theodor. Mopſueſt. Epiſt. apud Photium in Bibliotb. Cod.* 81. p. 199.

b *Gages* New Survey of the *weſt-Indies.* c. 12. p. 116, 117.

c *Gage ibid.* p. 117.

In the next place, the Idolater giveth to ſome other object, that Honour which might have been communicated by Gods Authority, but hath been entirely reſerved by his Wiſdom, whileſt no actual communication of it hath been any way declared. This impiety of his is likewiſe of two kinds. For he giveth the Ho-

Honour which God hath wholly reſerved, to ſome other object, either with reſpect to ſome inherent Power with which he ſuppoſeth it to be indu'd by God; or with regard to ſome external Relation which he ſuppoſeth to be owned by him. In the firſt kind the barbarous *Goths* offended, whilſt they worſhipped *Nocca* (*a*) [a kind of *Neptune* amongſt them] as one to whom a ſuperiour Power had committed the government of their Seas and Rivers; whil'ſt that Idol poſſibly, had not ſo much virtue communicated to him, as might ſtill one puff of Wind, or cruſh a Bubble. In the ſecond kind, they would have tranſgreſſed, who in the Temple of *Dagon* ſhould have done Religious, though relative and inferiour, reverence to his ſhapeleſs Trunk, or even to his Statue in the perfection of its beauty; God having never own'd it as his Image, or the Image of any Deity, or Angel, ſubſtituted by him.

(*a*) *Ol. Worm. monum. Danic. l.* 1. *c.* 4.

Laſtly, The Idolater giveth Honour to an Object which God owneth and repleniſheth ſometimes with virtue, in the quality of the Fountain of that Virtue; whilſt God hath not indued it with that conſtant Power in it ſelf, but uſed it as the inſtrument of his Works. The Power which healeth Diſeaſes not curable by Phyſick, doth not ſo eſſentially belong to the Prerogative of God, that he cannot communicate it perpetually to Angel or Man, and inveſt him in it, without diminution of his own Omnipotence. For it implyeth not a contradiction, for a creature to be able to alter the whole Texture of ſo little a frame as mans body: Neither is it impoſſible for man to be, by God, indued with a knowledg, which in a certain precinct, may, by ſigns in nature, to men unknown, and paſt their finding out, foretel ſeveral accidents which God determineth not to over-rule; ſuch as Plagues

Plagues, or healthful Seaſons; Famine or Plenty: For this knowledg, though it is not mans natural Talent, is not Omniſcience. Yet whil'ſt this is done by Gods immediate Power, and man is but inſtrumental in it, he becomes an Idolater, who owneth and thanketh man as the efficient cauſe. And he is guilty two ways: Either whilſt he owneth the Inſtrument as the efficient Cauſe, during the time that God maketh uſe of it, or after God hath ceaſed to work by it. In the firſt kind, the Impotent people, who were healed at the Pool of *Bethesda*, had offended, if they had given thanks to the Angel as to the principal Phyſician. And againſt this kind of Idolatry St. *Peter* gave caution, when ſeeing the multitude tranſported with admiration at the recovery of the Cripple, (*a*) He thus beſpake them, *Ye men of Iſrael, why marvel ye at this? or why look you ſo earneſtly on us, as though by our own power, or holineſs, we had made this man to walk?* The offence of the ſecond kind is much greater than this firſt, becauſe it doth not only give to Gods Inſtrument the honour due to the Divine Efficient Cauſe; but it alſo giveth Divine honour to that, which is not now ſo much as the Inſtrument by which God worketh. And this becomes a very Idol indeed, a vanity or lie, or nothing at all of that which it is eſteemed to be. The Magical Rod in the Temple of *Iſis*, in imitation of that of *Moſes*, was but an Idol, if it was an Inſtrument of any wonders; for it was not the Rod of God, but of a Demon. This matter may alſo be illuſtrated, both by the inſtance of the Brazen Serpent ſet up by one of Gods Vicegerents, and, upon its abuſe, deſtroyed by another; and by that of the Cup of *Joſeph*. This Cup by which he Divined, was, probably, an inſtrument uſed in ſome Sacrifice, ſome drink-offering; and in the uſe of

(*a*) Acts 3. 12.

which God vouchſafed him a Spirit of Propheſie, with relation to the affairs of *Egypt*. Now if the *Egyptians* afterward made uſe of this Cup, or any other in form of it, without any precept or promiſe from God Almighty; and truſted in it, as in the cauſe of Divination, they then were Idolaters in this laſt kind of that impiety. And this, one would think, was the *Egyptian* practice, who readeth *Lucian* in his Book of Sacrifices, (*a*) and obſerveth him there deriding the *Egyptians*, becauſe they made, ποτήριον, or, a drinking Pot, a God. And ſuch a Cup may that be thought, which is deſcribed in the hand of *Iſis* in her Myſtical Table, rather than a Meaſure, as *Pignorius* contendeth; as likewiſe that mentioned by *Arnobius* (*b*) in the right hand of *Bacchus*, who often makes a Figure in the forementioned Table. But this, as it referreth to *Joſeph*, is but conjecture; ſcarce ſo much as opinion: I therefore diſmiſs it. Yet I muſt not diſmiſs the Argument it ſelf, till I have further diſtinguiſhed both concerning the Objects or Idols of that Honour which is given from God; and the ways by which it is tranſlated from the proper to the falſe Deity.

a Or rather in his *Jupiter Tragœdus*. p. 700. for I find nothing like it in his Book *de Sacr.* though *Pignorius*, in *Exp. Menſ. Iſiac.* p. 31. has thence cited it.

b *Arnob.* l. 6. p. 209.--*In Liberi dextrâ pendens potorius Cantharus.*

Theſe Idols are either Perſonal, Internal, or External Objects. By Perſonal Objects, I mean the Idolaters themſelves, who become their own Statues, and worſhip their very ſelves by the eſtimation they have of their Perſons, as Chriſts, or of their Souls as real portions of the Eſſence of God; the fancy of ſome followers of *Plotinus* of old, who ſaid, "Their Souls "at death returned to the ſeminal Reaſon; and of ſome Quakers at this time, who ſay, as *Edward Burroughs* (*c*) the morning before he departed this Life, "That his Soul and Spirit was centred in its own be- "ing with God.

c See F.H. Teſtimony.

Internal Objects are the falſe *Idea's* which are ſet up in the fancy, inſtead of God and his Divine perfections. For he who fancieth God under the *Idea* of Indefinite Amplitude or Extenſion of matter, or of Light or Flame; or under the notion of an irreſiſtible Tyrant; and applies himſelf to him as ſuch, without the uſe of any viſible external Statue or Picture; is as certainly an Idolater, as he who worſhippeth a Graven Image; for he giveth Divine Honour to an *Idea* which is not Divine. Only here, the Scene being internal in the Fancy, the ſcandal of the ſin is thereby abated.

External Objects, are ſuch which have a ſubſiſtence diſtinct from the Phantaſms which are by motion impreſſed on the Brain. And the Catalogue of theſe is a kind of Inventory of nature. I will here give only a ſummary account of them, for the particulars are endleſs. Idolaters have worſhipped Univerſal Nature, the Soul of the World, Angels, the Souls of men departed; either by themſelves, or in union with ſome Star or other Body. They have likewiſe worſhipped the Heavens, and in them both particular Luminaries and Conſtellations; the Atmoſphere, and in it the Meteors and Fowls of the Air; the Earth, and in it Man, together with the accidents of which he is the ſubject, ſuch as Fortitude and Juſtice, Peace and War. And further, on earth they have deified Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Plants, Groves, Hills, artificial and artleſs Pillars and Statues, Pictures and Hieroglyphics [mean as that of the Scaribee (*a*) it ſelf, reſembling the Sun ſo many ways, as *Porphyrie* fancieth] together with divers foſſils and terreſtrial Fire. They have furthermore adored the Water [particularly that fruitful one of the *Nile*] and in it, the Fiſhes and Serpents and Inſects; as likewiſe the creatures which are doubtful

a *Porphyr. de Abſtin.* l. 4. p. 155, 156.

Inhabitants of either Element; such as the Crocodile in *Egypt*. *Kircher* (*a*) hath found the Temples of many of these Idols, even in that polite Nation of *China:* For he hath a Scheme containing the Temple "of the Queen of Heaven, the Temple of Heaven, "the Altar of Heaven, the Temple of Demons and "Spirits, the Temple of the Planet *Mars*, the Altar "of the God of Rain, the Altar of the King of Birds, "the Altar of the Earth, the Temple of the Presi-"dent of Woods, the Temple of Mountains and Ri-"vers, the Temple of the Spirit of Medicine, the "Temple of Gratitude, and of Peace, the Temple of "the President of Mice, and of the Dragon of the "Sea. *Menander*, from *Epicharmus* (*b*) summeth up the Idols of the World under these fewer heads, of the Wind, the Water, the Sun, the Earth, the Fire. But he is therefore deficient in his computation; neither was it his purpose to make it accurate. Thus the Image of God who made all things, has (as in a broken mirror) been beheld, without due attention, in the several parts of the frame of the World, and by the foolish Idolater distinctly adored: And this adoration being used towards external Objects, and not confined to mans secret thoughts, hath with the more success and scandalous dishonour to God, been propagated in the World. And this remindeth me of the distinction which I designed also to make, betwixt the ways by which Gods Honour is derived on creatures. For it is either done by the inward estimation of the mind, directing its intention in an Act or course of internal Worship; or by the external signs of Religious Reverence. It is done by both these together, or by either of them apart. There is no publick worship without manifest signs of it; the heart in it self not being discern'd by mans eye, but disco-

a *Kircher. in Oedip. Æg. Synt.* 5. c. 3. p. 401.

b *Epicharm. ap. Stobeum in serm.* 89. p. 503.— Ἀνέμας, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, Ἀστέρας.

diſcovering it ſelf by external tokens. "The *Iſrae-*
"*lites* (ſaith St. *Cyril*) worſhipped the Calf; and
"they did it, *by crying out theſe are thy gods* (*f*).
In them the mind and the outward ſigns of it went
together. But others, by the meer outward ſhews of
Adoration, how unconcern'd ſoever they may have
kept their minds, have committed Idolatry: Such as
the *Thurificati* in the Primitive Church, who belie-
ving the Goſpel, offered Incenſe before an Heathen
Idol; that being made a ſign of their departure from
Chriſtianity, and their approbation of Gentiliſm.
They thereby did an act of open diſhonour to the
true God; and they uſed external means apt to incline
others, either to worſhip Idols inſtead of Him, or to
confirm them, if they were already Idolaters, in their
deteſtable profaneneſs. Such Idolaters (it may be)
were ſome *Engliſhmen*, who went to Sea with Mr.
Davis, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, in order to
the diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage to *Cataia*, *Chi-*
na, and *Eaſt-India*. On the 29*th* of *July*, in the year
1585, (*b*) they diſcovered Land in 64 degrees and
15 minutes of Latitude bearing North-Eaſt from them.
They found this Land an heap of Iſlands, on one of
which they went on ſhoar. There ſome few of the
Natives made towards them; and amongſt that little
herd of barbarous people, one pointed firſt upwards
with his hand to the Sun, and then ſmote his breaſt
with very vehement force. The *Engliſh* aptly inter-
preting this ſign as an acknowledgment of the Deity
of the Sun, and an Oath by that Idol, of fidelity and
peace, uſed the ſame ſign themſelves; gaining there-
by Friendſhip and Traffick with a few Salvage People,
at the expence of the moſt valuable thing, the Ho-
nour of God.

a St. *Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian.* l. 9. p. 308.

b *Hakluits Navigations.* p. 778.

Of this external Honour, he is jealous, and he re-
ſerved

ſerved it to himſelf, amongſt the Jews whom he had eſpouſed, by expreſs command, ſaying, *Lo tiſchtachaveh*, Thou ſhalt not, before an Image or Idol, put thy Body into ſuch a figure, as is a ſign of worſhip. In the ſame ſence ought to be interpreted the ὐ προσκυνήσεις, of the Seventy [*Thou ſhalt not bow down*;] the word προσκυνῆν, not denoting there, a meer act of the mind, but of the body, either by bowing of its whole frame, or its head, or knee, or (which the notation of the word particularly importeth) by the kiſſing of the hand, (*a*) a common ceremony among the Gentile Idolaters; and ancient as the times of *Job* (*b*). Three ways of exhibiting ſuch external reverence are ſuggeſted by the Pſalmiſt (*c*), where he calls upon the people, to worſhip with proſtration, to bow, to kneel before God their Creator. For the ſake of external worſhip, ſolemn Days and publick Aſſemblies have in great part been appointed: By it, our Light (which retained in the heart only, is as a Lamp burning in a Sepulchre,) doth ſo conſpicuouſly ſhine before men, that it induceth them to an happy conſent in glorifying God with us. By it, is maintain'd the viſible Society of Gods Church, whoſe outward communion is preſerved by the external ſigns of words, geſtures and actions, relating to the Chriſtian Religion, and making up the profeſſion of it. This Communion he, in effect, renounceth, who pretending to the heart of a Chriſtian, hath the tongue of a Blaſphemer, or the geſture of an Idolater: who, whatſoever ſecret thoughts he entertaineth concerning God, ſaith openly of him, that he is not Supreme: or, what inward hatred ſoever he conceiveth againſt Idols, ſitteth in their Temples, and eateth of their Sacrifice. "Exter-
"nal Ceremonies (as is ſaid (*d*) by the Fathers of
"the Synod of *Rhemes*) are therefore appointed,
"that

a προσκυνῆν παρὰ τὸ κύνειν, ὁ ἐστι φιλεῖν. *Euſtath. ad 5 Odyſſ.*

b Job 31. 26, 27.

c Pſal. 95. 6. --*Proſternamur, Incurvemus nos, genuflectamus.* See *Petr. Picherell. de Imagin.* p. 225, 226, 227, &c.

d *Concil. Rhem. inter Conc. Max.* p. 73. *Externæ Ceremoniæ ſunt inſtitutæ ad declarandam ſuam in Deum affectionem.*

"that by them a declaration may be made of our "affection towards God. And common Reaſon teacheth, that by giving away the outward ſigns of worſhip, we are prodigal of the internal Honour of God, which cannot be preſerved or advanced amongſt Societies of men, meerly by a ſecret and inviſible Intention.

Hitherto I have purſued the notion of Idolatry in a poſitive way, according to the proper nature of Worſhip, in which the Act paſſeth towards the Object. But it may not be amiſs to take a little notice of a kind of negative impiety, which precedeth this poſitive falſe-worſhip; and to which, ſome it may be would give the name of negative Idolatry. I mean by this, that denial of any thing in the *Idea* of God which is proper to it, ſucceeded by a Worſhip of Him according to that maimed and unagreeable *Idea*. For the Idea of God being ſo intire that, by any diminution, it becometh the Idea of ſomething elſe; he that firſt removes part of the Idea, and then adores the remainder; adores, as God, that which is not like him. He, for inſtance ſake, who denies the conſtancy of Gods knowledg of human affairs, yet worſhips him at certain times, in which he owneth him to have that knowledg (after the manner of thoſe fooliſh Gentiles who worſhipped the Sun by day, and revelled by night when they thought he ſaw not;) ſuch a one, by breaking of ſuch a neceſſary part of Gods Idea, as renders it not his Image, and yet adoring it as ſuch, firſt makes an Idol, and then doth it homage. So the god of the *Muggletonians* rob'd of his Spirituality, immenſity, ſubſiſtences; what is he but their Idol?

The Premiſſes being conſidered, it will thence follow That in giving the Honour of God, ſupreme or ſubordinate, to any other thing, be it internal *Idea*, or perſonal

al Principle, or outward Object, with reſpect to any ſuppoſed, inherent, Divine Power, original or derived, or to any external Relation, by internal worſhip, and by the external ſigns of it, or by either of them, conſiſteth the Notion of Idolatry; the thing deſigned in this Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Cauſes and Occaſions of Idolatry in the World.

IT hath appeared in the foregoing Chapter, what kind of evil Idolatry is and how it hath ſpread it ſelf into numberleſs branches. In this Chapter, my purpoſe is to proceed further, and to inquire into the Root of it, and to conſider from what Cauſes and Occaſions it hath ſprung; and on what rotten and irrational grounds it is bottom'd. The general Cauſe of Idolatry, is the degenerate eſtate of the Soul, exerting it ſelf in the headineſs of the Will, which hurrieth men to folly, under the wild conduct of Imagination and Senſe. The Scripture calleth this diſtemper, *The vanity of the mind*; and to it it aſcribeth the Worſhip of Idols. Of ſuch Worſhippers St. *Paul* obſerveth,

1 Rom. 1. 21. (*a*) *That when they knew God*, [or had means of knowing him, by the reaſoning of their minds, excited by the beauty, order, and excellence of his Works of Creation and Providence], *they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imagination, and their fooliſh heart was darkened.* In this eſtate of moral darkneſs they miſtook, and confounded the Objects they met with;

with; and honoured the Creature inſtead of God.

It is difficult, if not impoſſible, at this diſtance from perſons and things, to tell the cauſes and occaſions of all their miſtakes: Neither could it have been done fully by the wiſeſt of thoſe times. For the love of Idols in ſome, like that of Perſons in others, was an unaccountable paſſion. That therefore which I here undertake, is not a full, certain, and manifeſt; but a competent, and probable account.

Thoſe who worſhipped Univerſal nature as an entire Object, or the ſeveral viſible parts of it diſtinctly, were led to ſuch adoration, by one more general Cauſe, and by divers which were more ſpecial. The more general cauſe of the worſhip of material nature, either in its own form, or in the ſhapes put upon it by Art, is the natural inclination of the mind in this body to help it ſelf by ſenſible Objects. The ſubſtance of God Almighty is not an Object which our mind can comprehend, much leſs is our acuteſt ſight able to reach it. This Principle many own'd amongſt the Heathens. Such were they mention'd by *Porphyrie* (*b*) who, that they might ſignify the inviſibility of Gods Eſſence, painted his Statues with black. Such were the *Egyptians*, remembred by *Plutarch*, who did therefore make the Crocodile an emblem of God, becauſe that creature, by the help of a pellucid membrane deſcending from his forehead, was able (as they vulgarly conceited) to ſee with cloſed eyes, without being ſeen. Now man living, as it were, in the confines of Heaven and Earth, his cœleſtial mind being united to a body of groſs fleſh and blood; his underſtanding receiveth inſtruction through the gates of the outward ſenſes, and is, in eſpecial manner, aſſiſted by Phantaſms which Light pictureth in the Brain. This frame of man rendreth him covetous in his ſpecula-

b *Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. de prep. Evangel.* l. 3. c. 7. p. 98.

tions, of the help of ſome external and viſible Object. And amongſt the numerous progeny of mankind, there are very few heads metaphyſical enough for that Proverb of the *Arabians* (*a*); *Shut up the five Windows, that the Houſe may be fill'd with Light.* It is the ſame thing to the vulgar, not to appear, and not to be; and they would therefore have a viſible Deity, and one who might in a more bodily manner be preſent with them. For this Reaſon, when *Oſiris* was worſhipped throughout *Egypt*, and his living Image was viſible only in the ſuperior part of it, the *Metropolis* of *Memphis*; the Prieſts took occaſion to ſet on foot a Schiſm; and thoſe of *Heliopolis* would alſo have a ſacred Bull, that their Deity might be as viſible and preſent to them, as to the other *Egyptians*. This Reaſon the *Brachman* gave to *Monſieur Bernier* (*b*) for the erection of the Statues of *Brahma*, and of other *Deitas* or Deities: To wit, *That ſomething might be before the eyes of the worſhipper, for the fixing of his mind.* Of the like temper were the Heathens ſpoken of by *Lactantius* in his ſecond Book of the *Origine of Error*, (*c*) *They were jealous leſt all their Religion ſhould be a vain beating of the Air, if they ſaw nothing preſent which they might adore.*

This Affection then for Senſe, this wiſdom of the Fleſh, is a general Cauſe of the Worſhip of material Idols. But they being of divers kinds, have accordingly divers more ſpecial Cauſes.

Such who worſhipped Univerſal Nature, or the Syſteme of the material World, perceived firſt that there was excellency in the ſeveral parts of it; and then, to make up the grandeur and perfection of the Idea, they joyned them alltogether into one Divine Being. Thus, probably, did Idolaters: But Atheiſts alſo ſerv'd themſelves on this Pretence, as they do at this day, ſeldome

a *Erpen. Proverb. Arab.* p. 2.

b *Bernier* in his Letter to Mr. *de la Mothe le Vayer.* p. 171, 172.

c *Lactant.* p. 146. *Sed verentur nè omnis Religio eorum inanis ſit, & vana, ſi nihil in præſenti videant, quod adorent.*

ſeldome receding from any profitable Art. Such a one of old, was *Pliny*, who maketh God and Nature the ſame (*a*). And ſuch a one, in theſe times, is the bold Author of *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, (*b*) who defineth God, the infinite power of matter.

Thoſe who worſhipped Nature in the parts of it, were ſuch (as *Pliny* obſerveth) who laboured under a weakneſs and narrowneſs of imagination. It was his opinion (*c*), *That frail and wearied mortality, mindful of its own infirm condition, diſtributed Nature into its ſeveral parts, that every one might worſhip that portion of it which was uſeful to him.* Uſefulneſs, indeed, was a common motive; And *Cicero* affirmeth (in his firſt Book of the *Nature of the Gods*) *That the Egyptians conſecrated no Beaſt, from whence they did not derive ſome profit.* And in his ſecond Book of the ſame Argument, he citeth it, as the ſaying of *Perſeus* the Scholar of *Zeno*, *That they were held to be Gods, from whom great advantage accrued to mans life.* Neither is there any name ſo commonly given, amongſt all Nations, to Divine Power, as that which ſignifieth the Goodneſs of it. Such is the ancient *Kod* of the *Germans*, in the *Vocabulary* of *Goldaſtus*, and their more modern *Gott*, or God (*d*) which we have borrowed from them. But Uſefulneſs, though it was a very common motive, yet it was not the only one which inclined the World to Idolatry. For that which raviſhed with its Beauty [as the Rainbow, worſhipped, ſaith *Joſephus Acoſta*, by the *Peruvians*; though not by thoſe of *Egypt* who dwelt under a ſerene Heaven]: That which affrighted with its malignant Power, [as the Thunder, worſhipped, ſaith the ſame *Acoſta*, by the *Yncas* of *Peru*; and by the ancient *Germans* alſo, who as, *Grotius* noteth, (*e*) called their God of Heaven by the name of *Thorn*, which ſig-

a *Plin. nat. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 4.--*Per quæ [nempe illa quæ ut quidem Deus poteſt] declaratur haud dubiè naturæ potentia, idq; eſſe quod Deum vocamus.*

b *Tract. Theol. polit.* c. 6. *de Mirac.* p. 100. *Ed.* 2. *virtus & potentia naturæ ipſa Dei virtus & potentia; Leges autem & Regulæ naturæ, ipſa Dei Decreta, &c.*

c *Plin. ubi ſupra.* p. 3.

d *Gott* a Teut: Gut, *bonus.*

e *Grotii Prolog. Hiſtor. Gott. & Vandal.* p. 21

ſignifieth him that Thundereth]: That which aſtoniſh'd with its greatneſs [as the mighty ſwellings of the Earth in high Mountains, worſhipped here by the ancient (*a*) *Britains*]: That, I ſay, which was beautiful, hurtful, (*b*) or Majeſtick, became a Deity, as well as that which profited with its uſe. Now all theſe powers being united in the Sun, whoſe beauty is glorious, whoſe heat ſcorcheth and refreſheth, and is the cauſe of barrenneſs in ſome places, and in others of fruitfulneſs; whoſe motion is admirable, whoſe Globe of Light appeareth highly exalted; *That*, of all other parts of the viſible World, hath been the celebrated Idol.

a *Uſh. de Primord. Eccleſ. Britan.* p. 2.
b Conſult *Wiſd.* 13. 1,2,3,4,7.

For other parts of inſenſible nature, leſſer virtues were diſcerned in them: But their motion, and the cauſe of it, being either not known, or not conſider'd, the Gentiles eſteemed of them as ſuch Subjects, in which a cœleſtial vigor reſided. Ignorance of nature was, in them, the Mother of Idolatry; as ignorance in Art was the cauſe of that admiration amongſt the *Caribbians*, which aſcribed the effect of Fire-locks (*c*) to a Demon. On the ſame account Garlick and Onions obtain'd the reputation of Deities in *Egypt*. Of ſuch St. *Chryſoſtom* ſomewhere taketh notice, and of the Apology which they made, ſaying, *That God was in the Onion, though the Onion was not God.* By this Onion, they meant not the common and very delicious one among them, which they were not forbidden to violate, but did daily eat it; but a certain *Scilla* which poyſoned Mice, and had a ſtrange fiery virtue in it, and was called the *Eye of Typhon*. And I ſuppoſe it to be of the ſame kind with that, of which the juice was uſed in the Luſtration of *Menippus* in *Lucian*, when he was initiated into the myſteries of *Zoroaſter* (*d*). It decreaſed ſaith [ſaith *Kir-*

c *Hiſt. of the Carib. Iſl.* p. 272.

d *Lucian. in Necyomantic.* p. 159. *Ad Tigridem mi fluvium ducens, purgavit ſimul atq; abſterſit, ſactq; luſtravit, καὶ σκίλλᾳ.*

Kircher (*b*)] in the increaſe of the Moon; and increaſed in the decreaſe of it: for the truth of which, let it reſt upon the Relator.

b *Oedip. Egypt. Theatr.* c. 2. p. 74, 75.

Concerning Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, and Inſects, they, in like manner, were ador'd for their beauty, their beneficial, hurtful, or aſtoniſhing properties. They were ſometimes worſhipped, for theſe and other ſuch reaſons, in the whole ſpecies of them: For ſo *Diana*, being turn'd (as they feigned) into a *Merula*, [a Mearl, or Black-bird] the whole kind of them was made ſacred, in the quality of her living Statues. Sometimes ſome one ſort of them was worſhipped by reaſon of a particular effect of theirs, eſteemed of with high veneration by the World. So the Mice *Sminthoi* were deified, (*c*) which eat in ſunder the Cables of the Enemies of *Troas*. Likewiſe, ſuch living creatures were worſhipped as Beings, which contained in them the Souls of ſome departed Hero's, Friends, and Benefactors; or which were, themſelves, portions of the Soul of the World. Beaſts at this day, are upon both theſe accounts idoliz'd by the *Pendets* of *Indoſtan* (*d*). And after this manner it is, that they explain the ſeveral appearances of their Deity; of which the firſt, they ſay, was in the nature of a Lion, the ſecond of a Swine: a ſtrange Cabbala, and ſuch as the Jews themſelves will diſown.

c *Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent.* p. 25.

d *Bernier's Memoirs. Tom.* 3. p. 154, 155, 156.

Touching Artificial things, and lifeleſs Statues, the more Ignorant ſort worſhipped them for their ſurprizing form, and coſtly matter. Such the *Bramins* in *India* moved to the worſhip of the great Idol *Reſora* fixed nigh *Jagrenate*, which is one of the mouths of *Ganges*. For they fram'd him very curiouſly, and ſet him forth very richly; giving him two Diamonds (*e*) for his Eyes, and hanging another about his Neck: And of theſe, the leaſt weighed about Fourty Carats.

e *Tavernier's Travels into India.* part 2. l. 3. c. 9. p. 173.

Others,

Others, not ſo very ignorant as to think, with the former, that the Deity was Gold or precious Stones; (*a*) venerated their Images, as the places of reſidence of Divine Powers, or perhaps, as their Bodies or Cloſets; their Temples being their Houſes or common dwelling-places. *Theſe were ſacred to their Gods, not as ſhelters of their Statues* (b) *from Sun, Wind, or Rain* (as the Heathens in *Arnobius* cunningly apologize) *but as inſtruments whereby they might have their Gods with them, behold them before their Eyes, ſpeak immediately to them, and with them, as preſent perſons, mingle, as it were, their Religious Colloquies.*

a Acts 17.

b *Arnob. adv. Gentes.* l. 6. p. 192.

Many Figures, Statues, and Images were made, at firſt, for very differing ends. They were made, as Memorials of a departed Child (*c*), or Friend, or Hero (*d*): As Remembrancers of a living Friend or Governour, (*e*) remaining at a diſtance from us on earth; as Monuments of ſome great Accidents in the World, and preſervers of the memory of things to late poſterity; the uſe (they ſay) of the Pillars of *Seth*. Likewiſe, they were made as Mathematical Inſtruments, as alſo as Hieroglyphicks, and myſtical Emblems; ſuch as a Dog, the emblem of Sagacity; and an Egg, the Hieroglyphick of the material World. The vanity of man, the Impoſture of the Heathen Prieſts, the artifice and ſplendour of the Statues themſelves (*f*); effects, apt to ſtir up admiration, which followed their ſetting up, or their remove, or their worſhip, though ariſing from other undiſcerned Cauſes; together with a multitude of feigned ſtories concerning their original or their diſcovery: Theſe things inclin'd the World to an opinion, that they were receptacles of Divinity. Each Temple of the Heathen was like that mentioned by *Lucian* in his Second Book of true Hiſtories, a *Temple of Impoſture* (*g*):

c Wiſd. 14. 15, 16.

d See *Mandeſlo's* Travels concern. the Pillars of the *Japoneſſes*. p. 154.

e Wiſd 14. 17.

f Wiſd. 14. 18. The ſingular diligence of the Artificer did help to ſet forward the ignorant to more ſuperſtition.

g *Luciani ver. Hiſt.* l. 2. p. 403.—ᾠ πλησίον ναὸς ἦν, Ἀπάτης καὶ Ἀλαζονείας.

And

And many Images were but the Inſtruments of Juglers. Some of them were feigned to ſweat and move [as thoſe in the great Temple of *Syria*, mention'd by the Author (*b*) of the *Syrian* Goddeſs]. Some were made very beautifully; and ſome in ſuch horrid ſhapes, that they almoſt affright us in their Pictures: Such are thoſe Pictures which *Lorenzo Pignoria* has added (*c*) to the Book of *Cartari*, concerning the Images of the ancient Gods. Some were in ſuch manner contriv'd that they ſeem'd to hold immediate commerce with Heaven: Thus, in the Image of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, (*d*) a little Window was ſo framed by Art, that the Sun ſhone on the eyes, lips, and mouth of it; and that the people believed it to be kiſſed by that Deity. Some have been feigned to drop down from the Heavens [as thoſe of *Troy* and *Epheſus*]: Some to have been tranſported from place to place, in the Air, [as the forementioned Image of *Serapis*, ſaid to be tranſlated, in a moment, from *Pontus* to *Alexandria*]: And ſome, by direction of Spirits, to have been digged out of the earth; or to have been miraculouſly pulled out of the Sea [as the Golden *Tripos* of *Apollo*]. And pity it is that ſuch Arts ſhould be uſed by them who profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, which needeth no pious frauds for the ſupport of it, but is beſt propagated, as it was from the beginning, by plain and ſincere dealing. But ſome *Roman-Catholicks* have, too frequently, imitated the Sophiſtry of the Heathens; and particularly, in promoting the dangerous worſhip of our Lady, at *Loreto* and *Guadalupa*. It ſeems, that her Image lay concealed in this latter place, for the ſpace of more than 600 years, till it was, by miracle (as they ſay), after this manner diſcovered (*e*). An Heardſman ſeeking his ſtrayed Cow, found her at laſt, but to appearance

b Lucian. *De dâ Syriâ.* p. 1059.

c *Cart. Seconda parte delle Imagini de i Dei.* p. 374, 375, 377, 378, 387, 390, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398, 399.

d See Kircher's *Oid. Æg. Syn.* 3. c. 5. p. 199.

e See *Bzov. ad Ann.* 1313. & *Hotting. Eccleſ. Hiſtor. vol.* 3. p. 789. See alſo the mirac. diſcov. of our Ladies Image on Mount *Strat*, in *Augſtichman's Sabbatiſmus Marianus.* c. 5. p. 47, 48.

pearance dead. He went about, therefore, to take off her Skin; but whilſt he was attempting of it, the Beaſt, to his great aſtoniſhment, did miraculouſly revive. Then, alſo, did the Holy Virgin appear to him in glorious ſplendor, and bid him not fear. And ſhe, further, gave him order to call the Eccleſiaſticks of the City, and in her name to promiſe them, that if they digged in that place, they ſhould find her Image. The poor man fearing they would not believe his report, ſhe promiſed to enable him with this ſign: to wit, That he finding his Child dead at home, ſhould be able, by his word, to raiſe it to life again before them. This being done, the Image is ſought and found (for they that hide, have ill memories if they can't find again); and it is plac'd in a magnificent Temple, and it becomes famous for working Miracles [true as that of its own diſcovery]. By ſuch Arts as theſe, the people being induced to think that Images were the dwelling-places of Divine Powers, it was difficult for them that had blind zeal, thenceforth, to ſuſpend their Religious veneration. The like means inclin'd them to worſhip Beaſts or Birds, as ſhrines and living Statues of ſome Deity. Thus the *Egyptians* made the figure of the Bird *Ibis* the emblem of their *Delta*, which it ſeems, by its open Bill it repreſented (*a*); [though my fancy conceiveth not how it could repreſent the Baſis of it] and therefore, under the favour of *Schualenberg*, it fixeth rather on the *Paſſus Ibidis* or *Trigon* it made at every ſtep. To this they added, That a certain Medicine of extraordinary virtue was found out by thoſe Birds; that a Feather of them ſtupified the Crocodile; that they were hatch'd out of the Egg of a Baſilisk; that they defended *Egypt* from the flying Serpents of *Arabia*. And this was enough, with that Idolatrous Nation, to turn the

a *Schualenberg* in *Aphoriſm. Hieroglyphic.* l. 17. p. 117, 118.

the bodies of thoſe Birds, and the very figures of them likewiſe, into Receptacles and Treaſuries of Celeſtial virtue; and to give Religious honour to them.

Concerning men on earth, the pride and pomp of the great, and the low and ſlaviſh diſpoſitions of the mean, begat ſometimes the flattery, ſometimes the worſhip of them, as Gods in humane ſhape. This Honour was arrogated by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who erected a mighty Coloſſus of Gold to no other Deity than himſelf, requiring ſacrifice and Religious adoration to be offered to it: which when *Sidrac*, *Miſach* and *Abednego* refuſed to do, he expoſtulated with them after the manner of an eminent Deity, ſaying, *What God is there potent enough to deliver you out of my hands?* Of this blaſphemous arrogance there were many inſtances in ſucceeding Ages, and that of *Alexander* cannot eſcape the common Reader; and he may find too many others in the Book of Political Idolatry, written by the Learned *Fileſacus*. This kind of Idolatry flatterers helped forward, and promoted as much as in them laid, even amongſt Chriſtian Princes. They fram'd for them the heavenly ſtile of [their *Divinity*, and their *Divine Precept:*] words ſaid to be uſed by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* themſelves. (*a*) *Pacatus Drepanius*, in his Panegyric to *Theodoſius* the Great, deſcribes the Emperour, as one, *from whom Navigators expect a calm Sea; Travellers, a ſafe return; and Soldiers Victory.* And of *Conſtantine* the Son of *Conſtantius*, the uncertain Author of his Panegyrick affirmeth in deep Complement; *That his Beauty was great as his Divinity was certain.* But much of this flattery is ſo groſs, that it can ſcarce be ſwallowed by the common people, who, in private, ſmile at their own publick fawnings.

a By *Fileſacus* who referreth to l. 1. *Cod. de ſum. Trin. Tit.* 1. —— *Ex Cœleſti arbitrio ſumpſerimus.* Though that may be meant of *Arbitr. divinum.* See *Gothof.* in 16. *Cod. Theod. de Fidt Cathol.* p. 5.

For Spirits of all kinds; men have ſeen ſome Apparitions, and heard of more: They have alſo had notions in the brain, repreſenting to them Images as ſpectres in the Air: They have rightly judged the Soul ſo Divine in its operations, as to ſuperexiſt: They have ſeen many external effects, and could not gueſs at the Cauſe, or aſcribe it with ſuch probability to Nature, as to ſome higher inviſible Power: They have ſeen appearances in the Heavens; and the very appearances have form'd in their fancy, the counterfeit Idea of a Spirit. For ſo the Heathen of the Eaſtern *India* (*a*) believed the ſhadow of the Moon on the Eclipſed Sun, to be a black Demon contending with it. Men thus believing, partly from good, and partly from fanciful Reaſons, the exiſtence of Demons and Ghoſts; and apprehending them, truly, as more ſpiritual, active, and ſuperiour Beings; it is not to be admired that their weakneſs ador'd them as diſpenſers of good and evil here below.

a *Bernier's* Memoirs. *Tom.* 3. p. 180.

Touching Souls departed in particular; Gratitude deified ſome, but Admiration put more names into the Calendar. The people were tranſported by their power and ſplendor on Earth, and they thought their Puiſſance would increaſe in higher Regions. Souls appeared otherwiſe to their mind, than Bodies do to the eye, to which they ſeem the leſſer the higher they aſcend. And to this end, the Devil was wont to repreſent Ghoſts unto the eye or fancy of the Gentiles in vaſt proportions (*b*). Such mighty figures *Jamblichus*, where he writeth of the *Egyptian* myſteries, aſcribeth to Principalities and Archangels. So that *Solomon* (*c*) might aptly call the ſtate of the dead, the Congregation of [*Rephaim*] or Gyants. Towards the advancement of the Souls of Heroes in the opinions of the Idolizers of them, much was contributed

b *Juven. ſat.* 13.
——*Tua ſacra & major Imago humandi, turbat pavidum*——
Dido ap. Virg. Æn. 4. *Et nunc magna mei ſub Terras ibit Imago.*

c Prov. 21. 16. Lxx. γιγάντων.

buted, by ſtrange appearances, real or invented, at the time of their death. So the Soul of *Paul* the Hermite was the more divinely eſteemed of, becauſe S. *Anthony* (as they tell us) ſaw it flying to Heaven (*a*). So *Julius Cæſar* became one of the *Roman* gods, whilſt a Comet (*b*) ſhining for Seven days together, was judg'd to be his Soul receiv'd into Glory. And this conceit they further inculcated, by adding a Star to the top of his Statue. Such Canonization of Heroes hath likewiſe been promoted by ſtrange effects, done or counterfeited at their Sepulchres; and ſometimes by their obſcure manner of going out of the World, which the people eſteem'd an heavenly tranſlation. *Empedocles* hoping this way to arrive at Divine honour, threw himſelf ſecretly into the flames of *Ætna*; but his two Pattens which that Gulf of Fire caſt up, diſcovered his vain and miſerable end.

a See *Martyrol. Roman.* in *Jan.* 10.

b *C. Sutton. In vitâ Jul. Cæſ. ad fin.* p. 70.

Concerning the Soul of the World, men ſeeing in all parts of the Creation motion and virtue judged erroneouſly of the greater World, as they did truly of the leſſer world of Man; and made one Soul to be the Sovereign principle which actuated every part of it. And ſome of the Stoicks (*c*) eſteem'd this Soul as a Form informing the Univerſe: But the Platoniſts judged it rather a Form aſſiſtant, imagining it unſutable to its Deity to be mixed with, or vitally united to the groſſeſt ſubcelestial matter; and to have perception of all the motions of it. This conceit is driven very far by the Indian Cabaliſts, or Pendets (*d*). *Creation* (ſay thoſe Doctors) *is nothing elſe but an extraction and an extenſion which God maketh of his own ſubſtance, of thoſe webs he draws from his own bowels; as deſtruction is nothing elſe but a repriſal, or taking back again of this Divine ſubſtance, and theſe Divine webs into himſelf; ſo that the laſt day of the World,*

c *Stanl. de Stoic. l. 4. c. 7. p. 427.—Quid enim aliud eſt natura, quam Deus, totâ mundo & partibus ejus inſerta?*

d *Bernier's Memoirs, Tom. 3. p. 178, 179.*

which they call Maperle *or* Pralea, *when they believe that all ſhall be deſtroyed, ſhall be nothing elſe but ſuch a general Repriſal.* This conceit, in the ſuperſtitious, maketh all things in nature adorable as parts of God: And in the Atheiſtical it deifieth nothing at all; for at the bottom of this imagination, they think they ſee not God but Nature. With them (*a*) *Cœlum* is the material Heaven, *Juno* is the upper Air, *Neptune* is the natural cauſe of water in the Caverns of the Earth, *Pluto* is the thick Air next to this Globe, and *Rhea* is the natural cauſe of ſhowers.

a *Pernut. de naturâ deorum, p.* 1, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Towards all the Idolatries already mention'd, much was contributed by the figurative expreſſions of Orators, eſpecially by their Apoſtrophe's in the Encomiums of departed Hero's; as alſo by the elegant fictions of Poets, whoſe invention hath been juſtly reputed one of the great ſtore-houſes of Idols. And for the Idolatry of Qualities, I know not whence to fetch it ſo readily as by going thither. For though the firſt ground of it was the conſideration of many of theſe Qualities, in their eminent degree, as means by which the Pagan Heroes were Deified (*b*); yet Poetry helped on that cauſe, by ſhaping theſe Qualities into perſonal Powers, negotiating, as it were, betwixt Heaven and Earth, and conveighing them, as the Angels did the Soul of *Lazarus*, into a more heavenly habitation. Poets deſign to move, to ſurprize, to make deep impreſſion on the People. They cannot do this ſo readily, by propoſing abſtracted Truths to the mind, as by cloathing them in ſuch Metaphors and Pictures as may affect the brain. Hence it is that they have uſed ſuch a variety of fictions, in which they have cloathed every thing they ſay, with the appearances of a Perſon. Peace, and War, Fame and Juſtice, have ſuch perſonal ſhape and action given to them, as is ne-

b *Lex* 12. *Tab. Tit. de Rel. Illos quos in Cœlum merita vocârunt, Herculem, Liberum, Æſculapium, Caſtorem, Pollucem, Quirinum. Et Illâ propter quæ datur hujuſmodi adſcenſus in Cœlum: mentem, virtutem, pietatem, fidem; earum laudum delubra ſunto:*

neceſſary for the making a greater impreſſion upon the Hearers. For (to give an ordinary inſtance in this matter) it doth not ſo much affect us when a man ſays barely, that a Kingdom ſhall want ſupplies of Bread, as when he deſcribes famine riding towards us pale and meager upon a Sceleton of Man or Beaſt attended with thouſands of ſuch ghaſtly objects; from whence the uncloathed bones ſtare upon us, and tell us that we after the dreadful extremities of hunger and thirſt, enforcing us to prey upon Toads and Serpents, upon our Relations, and our very ſelves, ſhall become lean, languiſhing, dying, as they.

By this tranſitory view of the Cauſes and Occaſions of Idolatry, ſo full of folly, error, and miſtake, it manifeſtly appeareth, upon what weak and clay-like feet the Idols ſtand, which the world hath worſhip'd with ſo vigorous a Devotion.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Time in which the Vanity of Man introduced Idolatry into the World.

THE Nature and Cauſes of Idolatry being conſidered, I intend in the next place to inquire into the time of its Birth, ſo far as the ſilence or uncertainty of Tradition will permit. It is one of the Aphoriſms of *Philo* the Elder (if he were the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom*), that Idols (*a*) were not from the beginning: And it is a queſtion among the Learned, whether Idolatry was any of thoſe pollutions which defiled the old World, and brought the deluge upon it. It doth not appear that it was extant before the flood; and many believe it to be no older than *Cham*. *Tertullian*, it is true, was of opinion that Idolatry began in the days of *Seth*, and that *Enoch* reſtored true Religion, and is for that Reaſon ſaid in Scripture *to have walked with God*. He hath given us his opinion, but he hath concealed the grounds of it: And I can think of nothing ſo likely to move him to this belief, as the reverence he had for the fictitious Propheſie of *Henoch*, which he often citeth (*b*), and in which are contained ſevere Comminations, both againſt the makers, and worſhippers of Idols.

S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* is much of another mind, affirming in his firſt Book againſt *Julian* the Apoſtate, (*c*) *That all men, from* Adam *to the days of* Noah, *worſhipped that God who by nature was one.* And he ſtrengtheneth his opinion with this Reaſon (*d*), *Becauſe no man is* [*by* Moſes] *accuſed as a worſhipper of other*

a Wiſd. 14. 13.

b See *Tertul. de Idolatr.* Sect. 4. p. 87, *&c.* --- *Idem* Enoch *ſimul & cultores Idoli & fabricatores in commination prædamnat.*

c S. *Cyr. Alex.* l. 1. *contr. Jul.* p. 16. οἱ μὲν ἅπ ἐξ Ἀδάμ, &c.

d Cyr. Alex. Ibid. p. 17. A. & l. 3. p. 110. A.

other gods, and impure Demons. If that falſe Religion had then ſet foot in the World, it would ſcarce have eſcaped that Divine Hiſtorian; but he would, in likelihood, both have mention'd it plainly, and ſeverely reproved it. For this is no ſin of a mean ſtature: *It is*, in the judgment of *Tertullian* (*a*), *the principal crime of mankind, the chief guilt of the world; the total cauſe of Gods judgment, or diſpleaſure.* He meaneth that it is a kind of Mother-ſin, containing in it all other evils, on which the Judg of the World paſſeth ſentence of condemnation. *Lactantius* goeth higher ſtill in his cenſure of it (*b*), giving to it the name of an inexpiable wickedneſs. And S. *Gregory Nazianzen* ſheweth what apprehenſion he had of the greatneſs of this guilt, when he calleth it (*c*) *The laſt and firſt of evils.* So monſtrous a ſin, if it had been in thoſe early times committed, it would, a man would think, have been as ſoon reflected on by *Moſes*, as the violence or injuſtice which then filled the earth, (*d*) or the unclean mixtures of the *ſons of God* (*e*) with the daughters of men: [That is, as I gueſs, (in the ſame ſenſe in which the tall Trees of *Lebanon* are called the Cedars of God) the unbridled appetites of the *High and Potent*, who made their Power ſubſervient to their luſt.]

a *Tertullian* thus begins his Book *de Idol. Principale crimen Generis humani, ſummus ſæculi reatus, tota cauſa Judicii Idolatria.*

b *Lactant. lib.* 1. *Inſtit.* c. 18. p. 94.

c *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 38. *de Idol.* Ἔσχατον τῶν κακῶν καὶ πρῶτον.

d Gen. 6. 11, 12, 13.

e Gen. 6. 1, 2.

In the infancy of the World, there were many Cauſes which might prevent the ſin of Idolatry. By the freſh date of it from the Creation, in which God, almoſt beyond miracle it ſelf, diſcovered his Almighty Being and Oneneſs; by the appearance of the Λόγος, or Son of God to *Adam* and others [of which appearance, largely afterwards]; by the long-lives of *Adam* and *Seth*, and the reſt of the Holy Line, who could often inculcate to their families, what themſelves were ſo abundantly aſſured of; and poſſibly alſo, by the con-

conviction of him who was the head of the degenerate Line, unrighteous *Cain* himſelf, who having ſeen God in his *Shechinah*, could not propagate either direct Atheiſm or Idolatry, though he was the Father of evil manners: By theſe, and perhaps by other Cauſes to us unknown, it might come to paſs, that the worſhip of Idols was either not in being, or at leaſt, not in frequent exerciſe in thoſe firſt Generations.

a Gen. 4. 26. הוחל

We know nothing of thoſe times but by the Pen of *Moſes*; and a doubtful word of his (*a*) hath inclin'd ſome to refer the Origine of Idolatry to the days of *Enos*. In his time (ſaith *Moſes*) men began to *Profane*, as ſome would render his Text, inſtead of tranſlating it as our Church doth, to *call upon*, the Name of the Lord. It is true that the *Hebrew* word, *Hochal*, doth ſometimes ſignifie *Prophaned*: But there is no Reaſon which may enforce ſuch an expoſition of it in this place; the Name of God having been formerly profaned, and with great irreverence abuſed in the irreligious Families of *Cain* and *Lamech*. Neither is the termination of our worſhip on the creature, inſtead of the Sovereign God, the only prophanation of his Holy Name. A rude Tongue, and an immoral Life commit that offence; and not only an Idolatrous mind or body. Such profaneneſs the *Arabian Metaphraſt* imputeth to that time, whilſt he thus turneth the *Hebrew* of *Moſes*: *Then began men to recede from their obedience to God.* But to me, the *Chaldee* Interpreter ſeemeth to come nigher to the ſcope of the Words, the ſenſe of which he expreſſeth in this manner: *In thoſe days men began to make ſupplications in the name of the Lord.* That is, the numbers of Families increaſing in the days of *Enos*, they appointed more publick places for Gods ſervice, in which at ſet-times, they might together, and in a more ſolemn Congregation,

wor-

worſhip their great Creator. I muſt confeſs that this expoſition doth much diſagree with the mind of *Maimonides*. For he doth not only refer (*a*) the beginning of Idolatry to the times of *Enos*, but he accuſeth *Enos* himſelf of that groſs and ſtupid wickedneſs. For thus he begins that ſhort Book which he hath written on that Subject. *In the days of* Enos *men erred very greatly; and the minds of the wiſe-men of that age were overborn with ſtupidneſs: Even* Enos *himſelf was one of them who thus erred. Now this was their error, the worſhip of the Stars.* A very raſh and rude reflexion upon ſo holy a Patriarch, and reliſhing of Rabbinical dotage. For certainly divers of thoſe Writers, if any others, have had a flaw in their Imaginations; though *Maimonides*, amongſt them all, may be allowed the largeſt intervals of ſobriety.

a *Maimon. de Idolatr.* c. 1. p. 3.

From *Cham*, therefore, rather than from *Enos*, the Learned derive the beginning of Idolatry; though I know not whether, under him, it may not be dated a little too ſoon. The heart of *Cham* being before the flood deeply depraved, it was rather hardened by the eſcape, than warned by the mighty danger of that general Deluge. Inſomuch that it was juſt with God to give him up to the further ſeducement of his ſenſuality, and to the viſible power of the old Serpent, who may ſeem to have been, for a time, chained down by the Curſe in Paradiſe, but was now (as I conjecture) let looſe again for the puniſhment of thoſe, whom Gods ſevere and miraculous diſcipline did not cleanſe of their folly. He therefore is eſteemed the Father of Idolatry, that Monſter in Religion, which in his corrupt Loyn was, by degrees, multiplied into innumerable heads. But *S. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in two places beginneth Idolatry at the confuſion of Languages, and with *Belus* rather than *Cham* (*b*); eſteeming

b *Cyril. Alex. contra Julian.* l. 1. p. 17. & l. 3. p. 110.

ing the difference of their Dialects, and the distraction of their opinions concerning God, to have commenced together (*b*). For the critical minute, it is uncertain; yet for the first objects of Idolatry, we may assent to him; and them he makes to be the Sun and the other heavenly bodies: But the Sun in the first place. That was the most glorious object which ravished the eye, and it shewed it self no-where more gloriously than in the plains of *Chaldea*. In those plains the Tower of *Babel* was built, and (as my private imagination leadeth me to think) consecrated by the builders to the Sun, as to the most probable Cause of drying up mighty Waters. This Tower is thought to have been built in Pyramidal form, according to the Scheme which we have of it in the frontispiece of *Verstegan*. And this form was not improper (though much unlike the figure of its Globe) because it expressed its fiery nature; the fire ascending in a conical shape. The Ancients (saith *Porphyry* (*c*) cited by *Eusebius*) did set forth the nature of Fire by Pyramids and Obelisks; and dedicated Statues of divers figures to the Olympick gods, as a Cone to the Sun, and a Cylinder to the Earth. But all will not allow this kind of reasoning to have place here; such Philosophical considerations being thought by them matters much later than the times of *Babel*. But for the building of Towers or Pyramids as *Altaria*, or high Altars, to the Sun and other heavenly bodies, the practice is ancient, and very general. The Sun was not, meerly, a god of the Hills; yet the Heathen thought it suitable to his advanced station, to ascend them, and to worship him upon ascents, either natural, or, as was necessary in such flat Countries, artificial; that they might come as nigh as they could to the Deity they worshipped. Accordingly *Abenephius* the

b *S. Cyr. ibid.* Μετὰ δὲ —— τὴν τοῦ πύργου κατασκευὴν, καὶ τῶν γλωσσῶν τὰς διαφορὰς, ἀσύμβατον καὶ αὐτὴν ἐσχήκασι τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ δόξαν, οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κατασκεδασμένοι. See *Elucidar.* (*inter Op. Anselm.*) l. 2. c. 20. p. 475. *de Orig. Idol.*—*Apud* Babel, *&c.*

c *Porphyr. ap. Euseb. de præp. Evang.* l. 3. c. 7. p. 98.

the *Arabian*, in *Kircher* (*a*), teſtifieth that the Pyramids of *Egypt* were called, by their Prieſts, the Altars of the Gods, and that they wrote on them Theological Myſteries. The ſame *Kircher* noteth, (*b*) that the *Coptites* called them the Pillars and Altars of Deities: That *Bama* is ſaid, by *Vatallus*, to ſignifie properly a very high place for ſacrifice; that ſuch a one is mentioned by *Virgil*, as ſacred to *Juno*: And that *Lucan* (*c*) ſpeaketh of Pyramids, as the *Egyptian* Prieſts and *Coptites* had done. The Pyramids of *Egypt* were raiſed upon certain ſquare Platforms ſet one upon the other, and gradually leſſening until they ended in one leaſt and blunt ſquare of Stone. *Monſieur Vattier*, the *Arabick* Profeſſor of the *French* King, believed thoſe blunt-tops to have been as Pedeſtals for ſome Coloſſes or Obelisks. They might be ſometimes put to that uſe, though not at firſt deſigned for it. For *Caligula* was pleaſed to ſet his Head on the ſhoulders of the Statues of the *Grecian* gods; yet thoſe Statues were not made to ſerve as ſuch Supporters. That Learned Profeſſor might, poſſibly, have made a truer conjecture from a ſhort paſſage in the *Arabian Murtadi*, whoſe Book he tranſlated. For *Murtadi* (*d*) ſpeaks of the Maritine Pyramid, as of a Temple of the Stars, on which were placed the figures of Sun and Moon. Such a Tower was that (as I ſuppoſe) which the *Tauſi* of *China* built, of a ſudden, in the *Piazza* of *Pekin* (*e*). They built it in Pyramidal form, with Tables upon Tables, till it ended in one ſupreme Table: And on that they prayed for Rain, which the Sun, the Original *Jupiter Pluvius*, doth as a natural cauſe, both ſend and remove. The *Corinthian* Tower once belonged to *Sol* (*f*): And it is very probable, that the Sun was of old worſhipped on a very high Mountain in *Crete*. The Hill, in the time of *Peter Martyr*

a *Kircher in Oedip. Syn.* 4. c. 12. p. 310.

b *Kircher ibidem.* See alſo p. 308, 309.

c *Votaq; Pyramidum culſus ſolvuntur ad auras.*

d *Murtadi* of the Prodig. of *Egypt* acc. to the *Arabians.* p. 16.

e *Alvarez Semedo in Hiſt. Chin.* part. 1. c. 18. p. 87.

f See *Lavrah. Coriath. & Sicyon.* p. 23.

of *Angleria* (*a*), was called by the name of the Hill of *Jove*, though the *Cretians* were then great ſtrangers to their ancient Demonology. A late Traveller (*b*) hath informed us of a Pyramidal Tower in *Mexico*, on the top of which the Heathen Prieſts worſhipped towards the Sun, an *American* Deity. I ſhould have thought that he had meant the ſame with *Corteſius* (*c*), and that which he called the Fane of the Idol *Horcolivo's*. But they differ much in their meaſures: And the aſcent of the former is ſaid to be by 114 ſteps; the latter by no leſs than an Hundred and thirty. Among the *Apalachites* of *Florida* (*d*), the Prieſts of the Sun, called by the remarkable name of *Jaovas*, worſhipped their Idol on the top of a very high, round, ſteep and rocky Hill; a full league in its winding Aſcent. The builders of the Hill or Tower of *Babel*, ſurely, deſigned that much higher yet; ſo high that it might hide its head in the Clouds, and would, it may be, have put it, had it been finiſhed, to the like Idolatrous uſe. It is reaſonable for me, here to expect an objection from the Scripture, which ſeemeth to impute the building of the Tower of *Babel* to another end. *Come*, ſay the builders in the Eleventh of *Geneſis* (*e*), *let us make us a name, leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the earth.* To this objection two things may be replied; Firſt, the end expreſſed is not excluſive of that which I ſuppoſed; and it is not a wonder, if vain men to encourage one another, how many ends ſoever they had, did propound that of their pomp and glory. Secondly, theſe builders deſigned a City, and not only a Tower which was but the Appendix to it, though ſuch a neceſſary one as an Altar is to a Temple. And their deſign of getting them a Name, might rather refer to the City, than diſtinctly to the Tower. They

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(*a*) *Pet. Mart. Ligat. Babyl.* l. 2. p. 80.

(*b*) *Gage* in his new Survey of the *Weſt-Indies*. c. 12. p. 113, 114.

(*c*) See *Kircher's Oedip. Synt.* 5. c. 5. p. 421, 422.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the *Carib. Iſl.* b. 2. c. 8. p. 236, 237, *&c.* See *Kirch. Oed. Tom.* 3. p. 27. c. 3. of Mount *Pagoda*.

(*e*) Gen. 11. 4.

intended to build a place of fixed Reſidence, which might be, as it were, the Head, and Center, and Metropolis of all Towns, whenever their Families ſhould ſo encreaſe as to need further room for habitation. They were reſolved againſt the incommodities of a wandring life, and they purpoſed to unite themſelves into a more orderly body, and to become a Corporation inſtead of a multitude. And this was the way to get them a Name, to be the firſt City of the World, and to be owned as the Mother-Place of all Nations.

But I am not ſo fond of this private fancy, as to contend further about the Legitimacy of it. In this I am more aſſured, that the Lights of Heaven, which in the clear firmament of thoſe Countries, appeared ſo often and in ſuch luſtre, (whileſt the Sun by day ſhone gloriouſly; and the Moon and Stars ſhewed beautifully in the night, to them who lay either on the ground, or on flat Roofs, and found no evil influence from them); and which obtained afterwards the name of ☉ and ☽ from their continual motion, were the firſt Idols of the World. Amongſt theſe, the Sun excelling, he was made the principal Idol, and was nowhere more in honour than at *Babylon*. Accordingly we read, ſo ſoon, of *Bell*, [the *Babylonian*] and *Baal* [the *Phenician* and *Hebrew* Name], in the Theology of the Gentiles, This Idol was originally, and principally, the Sun; though great men likewiſe, when deified after their deaths, obtained that Name, as a Title of higheſt renown. And from the many names of Canonized Heroes, given to the Sun, hath riſen a great part of that uncertainty and confuſion, with which the Reader is perplexed in the Labyrinths of Heathen Mythologers.

This, however, is generally confeſſed, that the Sun was the firſt Idol; inſtead of which why *Jarchi* (*a*) hath

a *Jarchi ap. Dionyſ. Voſſ. in Maimon. de Idol.* c. 1. p. 4.

(*a*) hath put men or herbs into the firſt place, is hard to underſtand, till he come, and be his own *Elias*. *Maimonides* begins with the Stars, and he hath ground, not only from natural Reaſon, but from the Authority alſo of *Job* and *Moſes*. *Job* (*b*) thus expreſſeth the Idolatry of thoſe ancient times in which he lived. *If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the Moon walking in brightneſs. And my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand:* [If, with devotion of Soul, or profeſſion of outward Ceremony, I have worſhipped thoſe heavenly bodies which by their heighth, motion and luſtre, raviſh the ſenſes]: *This alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judge; for I ſhould have denied the God that is above.*

b Job 31. 26, 27, 28.

c Deut. 4. 19.

Moſes giveth caution to the people of *Iſrael* (*c*) who were coming out of that Idolatrous Land of *Egypt*, and were journeying towards Idolatrous *Canaan* [who were coming from temptation, and going likewiſe towards it]; *That when they lifted up their eyes to the Heavens, they ſhould arm their minds againſt that inchantment to which they were ſubject by the ſenſible glory of the Sun, Moon and Stars.* *Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſon* (*d*) gloſſing upon this place in *Moſes*, obſerveth that the Sun is firſt named, becauſe his vertues are moſt manifeſt. *The moſt ancient inhabitants of the World* (ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*, meaning them that lived ſoon after the Flood, and particularly the (*e*) *Egyptians*) *contemplating the World above them, and being aſtoniſhed with high admiration at the nature of the Univerſe, believed that there were eternal Gods; and that the two principal of them were the Sun and the Moon: Of which they called the firſt* Oſiris, *and the ſecond* Iſis. And of late years, when the Mariners Compaſs directed men to a new World in *America* [peopled, no doubt, from ſeveral diſtant parts of the old;] many different

d *Ap. Dionyſ. Voſſ. in Maim. de Idol.* p. 4.

e *Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſtor.* l. 1. c. 11. p. 10.

Idols

Idols were found in peculiar places; but for the Sun, it was a Deity both in *Mexico* and *Peru*.

Babylon was the Mother of this kind of Idolatry; not *Egypt*, as the Author *de Dea Syria* (*a*), and some in *Diodorus Siculus* (*b*), who make *Sol* the first King of it, have erroneously conjectured. For *Egypt* was not a Nation when the Sun began to be worshipped in *Chaldea*, where *Ur*, it may be in aftertimes, with respect to the worship of that hot Luminary, was a kind of lesser *Babylon*. *Babylon* infected *Egypt*, *Assyria*, *Phœnicia*; and they spread the contagion throughout the World.

a *Lucianus de diâ Syriâ.* p. 1057. Πρῶτοι μὲν ὧν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἐννοίην λαβεῖν, &c.

b *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth.* l. 1. c. 13. p. 12.

To the worship of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other appearances in Heaven or the Air, such as Comets and Meteors, (for the worship of the former, was apt to draw on that of the latter) succeeded the false Religion towards Heroes, confounded, as I guess, with original Demons or Angels. And this came to pass in the days of *Serug*, according to *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Syncellus*. The Sun was no sooner called *Bel*, *Baal*, or *El*, that is, Lord or Governour, but the souls of men of renown were also flattered with like Appellations, and became properly the Idols of the people. *Nimrod* and *Osiris* were *Baals*; and the King of *Phœnicia* was *Bel*; and they had Religious veneration payed to them. If other Demons were worshipped (as no doubt they were, being permitted to appear to them); it is a question whether the Gentiles did not, by them, misunderstand the deified Souls of some of their Ancestors, distinctly, or confusedly remembred; rather than natural *Genii*, or Angels: For such Beings owed much of their manifestation, as such, to the Tradition conveyed in the Loyn of *Abraham* and *Moses*.

The worship of Demons was followed by that of Pil-

lars or Artleſs Monuments of remembrance (*a*). Such a Monument was that Pillar anointed by *Jacob*. It was no Idol in the quality in which he made it, but a Record of the Divine preſence: But it is commonly thought that others did take from it a pattern of their follies. Statues or Images were of a like antient date, as is plain from the Hiſtory of the *Teraphim*, though Artiſts were then rare: The infancy of this new World being, alſo, the infancy both of Mechanical and Liberal Arts. Idolaters likewiſe choſe for their Deities, living Statues, ſuch as the Bull in *Egypt* for the heavenly *Taurus*, according to *Lucian* (*b*), or rather for the Deity of the Sun, or of an Hero, according to truth. *Pauſanias*, in his *Survey of Greece*, findeth Stones ſharpened at the top, to have been the earlieſt Symbols of their Gods. [They were, it may be, Cones relating to the Sun, the parent of fire, which, as was before noted, aſcendeth a Pyramis,] and was thought to be an element of Triangular figure by the ancient Philoſophers of *Greece* (*c*).] *Scaliger*, in that learned Appendix of his to his Book of the *Emendation of the accounts of time*, doth mention Rude Stones, as the original Statues in *Phenicia*. What the firſt Symbols amongſt the *Romans* were, is not diſtinctly underſtood. One would gueſs by *Numa's* Temple, they were Symbols of the Univerſe. But for particular Images, we have it upon the good authority of a moſt learned *Roman* (*d*), That an Hundred and Seventy years were paſſed ere they came in amongſt them. Under Chriſtianity, the vanity and veneration of Images ſucceeded the Symbol of the Croſs. At this day the *Barbarians* on the Coaſts of *Africa* reverence Stones, like our greater Land-marks, as Fetiches or Divine Statues (*e*); believing them to be as ancient as the World it ſelf.

[a] See *Mr. Stilden's Prolegom. to Synt. de Diis Syriis.* p. 39.

[b] *Lucian: de Aſtrologiâ.* p. 540. D.

[c] *Plato ap. Laert.* p. 228. l. 3. πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι σχῆμα πυραμίδα, ἀέρος τὸ ὀκτάεδρον, &c.

[d] *Varro ap. S. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei.* l. 4. c. 31. p. 272.

[e] *Villault's* Rel. of a Voyage to *Guinee.* p. 174.

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It appeareth by this ſhort account of the Original of Idols, that they may plead antiquity: But ſtill their age is nothing, if we compare it to his who is God everlaſting.

CHAP. V.

Of thoſe who are charged with Idolatry; and of the conformity or inconformity of their worſhip to the Nature of Idolatry. Of Gentiles, Jews, Mahometans, Chriſtians. Amongſt them who have profeſſed Chriſtianity, of the Gnoſticks, Manichees, Arrians, Socinians, Roman-Catholicks, the real Catholicks of the Communion of the Church of England. *And firſt of the Idolatry charged on the Gentiles.*

PART I.

How far the Gentiles were Ignorant of one Supreme God.

I Have inſiſted hitherto, on the Nature, Occaſions, and Commencement of Idolatry. The next conſideration ſhall extend to the perſons charged with it, and in the firſt place, to them who have firſt and moſt generally tranſgreſſed; that is to ſay, the Gentiles.

Concerning their worſhip, it is here proper for me to attempt the reſolution of three Queſtions.

Firſt, Whether the Gentiles acknowledged one Supreme God.

Secondly, Whether they made Religious Application to him.

Thirdly, Whether upon the conceſſion of ſuch acknowledgment and Application, they may be, and really are chargeable with Idolatry.

Firſt, then, I enquire how far the Gentiles owned one ſupreme God. This enquiry is not capable of any niee and accurate reſolution. For there is no one Syſteme of the Gentile Theology; as there is of Judaiſm, Mahometaniſm, and the Chriſtian Religion. Divers perſons, in divers places, had divers apprehenſions concerning a Deity; and divers Rites of worſhip. And thoſe diſtinct Rites, by the commerce of Nations, were often ſo mixed together, that they made a new kind of Religion.

It is not unlikely, that the dregs of the people among the Gentiles, whom God had given up to brutiſhneſs of mind, did riſe little higher than Objects of ſenſe. They worſhipped many of them together; each as ſupreme in its kind, or no otherwiſe unequal than the Sun and the Moon, or the other cœleſtial bodies, by the adoration of which, the ancient Idolaters, as *Job* (*a*) intimateth, denied [or excluded] the God that is above. *Porphyry* himſelf, one of the moſt plauſible Apologiſts for the Religion of the Gentiles, doth own in ſome, the moſt groſs and blockiſh Idolizing of mean Objects. He telleth us (*b*) that it is not a matter at which we ſhould be amaz'd, if moſt ignorant men eſteemed wood and ſtones Divine Statues, ſeeing they who are unlearned, look upon Monuments which have inſcriptions on them, as ordinary Stones; and eſteem valuable Tables as pieces of common wood; and regard Books no otherwiſe than as ſo many bundles of Paper. Senſible objects arreſted the ſtupid and unactive minds of the vulgar, who (like thoſe indevout (*c*) Idolaters of *Japan*) reaſon'd no further concerning the original, or Government of the World.

a Job 31. 28.

b *Porphyr. ap Euſeb. de præpar. Evang.* l. 3. c. 7. p. 98.

c *Mandeſlo in his* Trav. p. 154. They have no knowledg of the worlds creation, &c.

World. For few Heads are exercised by Philosophy; and we meet not with one Peasant of a Thousand among our selves, who asks how the Sun enlightens this Globe, though he believes the body of it no bigger than his Bushel. Such Heads are inclined to turn the Truth of God into a Lie; to exchange the Sovereign Deity for that which is esteemed a God, but is not; and to multiply the kinds of it, according to the variety of considerable effects and appearances whose Causes are only known to the Secretaries of Nature.

It is more probable still, that many Gentiles reached no higher in their devotion than to Demons. Saint *Paul* taxeth them (*a*) with offering to Devils and not to God. The same Apostle inform'd the *Lycaonians* (*b*), that the design of his Preaching, was the converting of men from vanities [that is, from their many Idols which were not what they were judged to be: which being no Deities, were in that respect nothing, and vanity] unto one God, the true and living God; from whom therefore, these many Idols had withdrawn many of the Heathen. The Inferiour objects had thrust the Superiour out of possession, as in the Case of that woman under the Papacy, who is said to have forsaken God for the Virgin; and the Virgin in Heaven, for that Lady (as she called her) which she saw before her eyes in the Church (*c*). Divers Idols (I say) might crowd the Sovereign God out of their minds, *Jehovah* might be banished whilst their imaginations were filled with many hundreds of *Jupiters*; with no fewer than Thirty thousand in the account of *Hesiod*, if he swelleth not the reckoning with Names, and Sir-names, instead of distinct Gods.

a 1 Cor. 10. 20.

b Acts 14. 15.

c D.M. Antid. ag. Idol. and Reply. p. 258. See *Spal. de Rep. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 12. p. 287.

Some of the Gentiles who knew God [that is, had means by the things that are seen (*d*) of ascending to the knowledg of the invisible Creator] did not-

d Rom. 1. 20, 21.

a 1 Cor. 1. 21. Psal. 79. 6. Jer. 10. 25. 1 Thes. 4. 5.

withstanding not truly know him; nor reach him by that wisdom or vain sort of Philosophy (*a*) which did not edifie them, though it puffed them up.

PART 2.

Of their worship of Universal Nature, &c. as God.

THis is the common oppinion, concerning many of the Gentiles; but there is not sufficient reason to believe the same thing concerning them all. For it is evident from the History of ancient and modern Idolatry, and from the Writings of some of the Gentiles; that the acknowledgment of one supreme Deity was not wholly banished from all parts of the Pagan World. But herein, likewise, some of them greatly erred.

For, first, There were those amongst them who acknowledged Universal Nature, as that one supreme Deity. This Deity the *Egyptians* vailed, sometimes under the names of *Minerva* and *Isis*, before whose Temple *Sai*, as *Plutarch* witnesseth, this Inscription was to be read: *I am all that which was, and is, and will be hereafter.* And in her Image were placed the emblems of all the kinds of things with which Nature is furnished (*b*). Such a Deity the *Arcadians* worshipped under the proper Title of *Pan*, who as *Pornutus* contendeth (*c*), is the *same with the Universe.* The same *Pornutus* proceedeth, in shewing, that his lower part was shaggy, and after the fashion of a Goat; and that by it, was meant the asperity of the Earth. *Bardesanes Syrus* (*d*) describeth at large the Statue of the Universe, by which the *Brachmans* worshipped Nature. It was an Image of Ten or Twelve Cubits in heighth: It had its hands extended in the form of a Cross. It had a face Masculine on the one side,

b See the Statue of *Isis* in *Kirch. Oedip. Synt.* 3. c. 4. p. 189.

c *Pornutus de Nat. Deor.* c. περὶ τοῦ Πανός, p. 69. —— τοῦ παντὸς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι, &c.

d *Bardes. Syr. ap. Porphyr. Fragm. de Styge*, p. 283, 284.

side, and Feminine on the other. It had the Sun on one of its breasts, and on the other the Moon: And on the Arms were to be seen a very great number of Angels, together with the Heavens, Mountains, Seas, Rivers, the Ocean, Plants and Animals; and such other parts in Nature as make up the Universe. Yet I cannot say that this was the Statue of their supreme Deity: For they tell us, concerning it, that this was the Image which God set before his Son when he made the World, as a pattern by which he should form his Work. But I may say it more truly, of some worshippers of *Isis*, that they supposed her supreme, and did adore her, not, with others, as the inferiour Earth, but in the quality (as I just now noted) of universal Nature. So *Pignorius* hath taught us (*a*), and before him, *Servius* and *Macrobius*. Hence was it that the Inscription on an Antient Marble at *Capua*, owneth *Isis as all things* (*b*). A like opinion may be, with ground, entertained concerning *Vesta*, and the ἑστία, Fire, or Sun, in the midst of her Temple; as *Plutarch* in *Numa* hath suggested. Wherefore no Image was consecrated to her besides that of her Temple, which by its roundness, denoted the World, and by its sempiternal fire, the Sun in it. That fire was renewed, each year, on the first of *March* (*c*), in allusion, sure, to the vigour of that Planet which then beginneth, in especial manner, to comfort those parts of the Earth. Others again, amongst the Gentiles, ador'd the Sun, as the one Sovereign Deity. Such were they in *Julius Firmicus*, who expressed their devotion in this form. *O Sol! Thou best and greatest of things! Thou mind of the Universe! Thou Guide and Prince of all* (*d*). A like *Egyptian* form, translated out of that language, by *Euphantus*, is remembred by *Porphyrie*; and thus it beginneth (*e*). *O Sun thou Lord*

a *Pignor. de Mensâ Isiacâ.* p. 2, 3.

b *Te. Tibi una. Quæ es. omnia. dea. Isis. Arrius Babinus V. C.*

c *Macrob. Saturn.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 242.

d *Sol. Opt. Max.--Mens mundi. Dux omnium Princeps.*

e *Porphyr. de Abstinen.* l. 4. p. 157. Ὦ δέσποτα ἥλιε, καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, &c.

Lord of all, and ye the reſt of the Gods! There *Euphantus* (as may be probably imagined) found *Baal*, or ſome ſuch word, in the original *Egyptian*; and gave us inſtead of it, the *Greek* Δίοννσα. Such honour of the Sun we find on the Antient *Egyptian* Obelisk interpreted by *Hermapion* (*a*), and reſtored to its antient beauty, by *Sixtus Quintus*. On it the Sun is ſet forth as God; as the Sovereign diſpoſer of the World which, it ſeems, he committed to the Government of King *Rameſtes*.

a See Marſh. Chron. Can. p. 433, 434.

Others there were who miſtook for the one ſupreme God, the Soul of the World, and, it may be, thought the Sun the Head in that great animated Body, or the place of that Souls principal reſidence. On this faſhion, *Oſiris*, in *Macrobius* (*b*), deſcribeth his Godhead. *The Heavenly world is my head; my belly the Sea; my feet the Earth: In Heaven are my Ears, and for my all-ſeeing Eye, it is the glorious Lamp of the Sun.* *Pornutus* likewiſe, reciting the Dogmata of the Heathen Theology, diſcourſeth (*c*) to this effect. As we [men] *are governed by a Soul, ſo the world hath its Soul alſo, by which it is kept in frame: And this ſoul of the World is called* Jupiter. *Ariſtotle* himſelf doth ſomewhere ſtile God, μέγα ζῶον, a mighty Animal: So apt are the higheſt Aſpirers in Philoſophy to fall, ſometimes into wild and deſperate errors. Amongſt the *Romans* who excelled *Varro* in knowledg? And yet S. *Auſtin* ſaith of him, that he believed no higher God than the Soul of the World (*d*), but that by diſguſting Images, as debaſers of Religion, he approached nigh to the true God. Others, both in *Egypt* and *Perſia*, worſhipped for the true God, a part only of his Idea; whilſt they removed from it, the juſtice and mercy of ſending, preventing, or taking away, any temporal evils in which they thought the ſupreme Deity

b Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. p. 299. οὐρανός μου κεφαλή, &c.

c Pornut. de Nat. deor. p. 4. de Jove.

d S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 4, c. 31. p. 272, 273.

Deity not concerned; whilst they believed certain Demons to be the chastizers of those who had not purged themselves sufficiently from matter (*a*).

(*a*) See *Porphyr. de Abstin.*

PART 3.

How far the Gentiles owned one true God.

BUT it is not fair to fight always on the blind-side of Nature. I come therefore in the next place, to acknowledg, that some Gentiles used a Diviner Reason than others, and owned one supreme God, the King of the World, and a Being distinct from the Sun, or the Universe, or the Soul of it.

This appeareth from the Confession of many Christians; and from the words of the Gentiles themselves.

First, Divers of the Fathers, though they shew the generality of their gods to have been but creatures, yet they confess they had amongst them, some apprehension of one supreme, eternal Deity. S. *Chrysostom*, in a second Discourse in his sixth Tome concerning the Trinity (*b*), *doth charge upon the* Arians *and* Macedonians *the crime of renewing Gentilism, whilst they professed one great God, and another Deity which was less, and created. For it is Gentilism* (said that Father) *which teacheth men to worship a creature, and to set up one Great* [*or greatest*] *God, and others of inferiour order.* In this Discourse St. *Chrysostom* acknowledgeth that the Gentiles adored the one Sovereign God (for him the *Arians* believed in, and were in that point good Theists, though no Orthodox Christians), notwithstanding he accuseth them of Subordinate Polytheism. S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* speaks the same thing, and in more plain and direct words (*c*). *It is manifest* (said he) *that they who Philosophized after*

(*b*) S. *Chrys.* op. vol. 6. *de Trin.* p. 189. B. C.

(*c*) *Cyr. Alex. contra Julian.* l. 1. p. 23. A.

after the Grecian manner, believed and professed one God, the builder of all things, and by nature superiour to all other Deities.

And (to come to the second way of proof above mentioned) S. *Cyril* is very copious in the authorities which he produceth out of the Heathen Writers, in order to the strengthening of his Assertion, that they believed in one infinite God. He introduceth *Orpheus* (*a*) speaking as Divinely as *David* himself. *God is one, he is of himself, of him are all things born, and he ruleth over them all.* He again, after he had cited many Philosophers, bringeth in the Poet *Sophocles*, as one that professed the true God; and the words which he there calleth to mind, are worth the Transcribing (*b*). *Of a truth, There is one God, who made the Heavens, and the spatious Earth, and the goodly swelling of the Sea, and the force of the Wind. But many of us mortals, erring in our hearts, have erected Images of gods made of Wood, or Stone, or Gold, or Ivory, as supports of our grief: And to these we have offered sacrifices and vain Panegyricks; conceiting in that manner that we exercised Piety.* He forbeareth not, after this, to cite *Orpheus* again (*c*), and the Verses have their weight, and contain this sense in them. *I adjure thee, O Heaven! Thou wise work of the great God! I adjure thee thou voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he founded the whole World by his Counsels.* The Father calls to mind, likewise, many sayings of *Porphyry*, and of the Author falsly called *Trismegist.* But they were too well acquainted with Christianity, to have Authority in this Argument of the one God of the Gentiles. *Such a Gentile* [one who dreamt not of any Gospel] *was* Anaxagoras, *who* (as *Plutarch* testifies) *did set a pure and sincere mind over all things, instead of fate and fortune.* In *Laertius*, we may hear him speaking in his own

a *Cyr. ibid.* p. 26. Εἷς ἐς' αὐτογενὴς &c.

b *Cyr. ib.* p. 32. —— ἐν ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ὅτι ἐστι Θεὸς, Ὃς οὐρανὸν ἐτεύξε, &c. ——

c *Cyr. ib.* p. 33. Οὐρανὸν ὁρκίζω σε Θεοῦ μεγάλα σόφου ἔργον, &c.

own words; and they admit of this interpretation (*a*). *All things were together* [or in a Chaos]: *Then came the Mind and disposed them into order.* But on this declaration of *Anaxagoras* I will not depend; because his νοῦς or mind, might be such as the Platonick Ψυχὴ or Soul of the World. I like better the words of *Architas* the *Pythagorean* (*b*), who speaks of God in the singular, and says he is supreme, and governs the World. But nothing is more close to the purpose than that which hath so often been said by *Plato*. It is his opinion recited in *Timæus Locrus* (*c*), *That God is the Principal Author and Parent of all things.* And this he adds, after an enumeration of the several Beings of which the Universe consisteth. He affirmeth in his *Politicus*, "That God (*d*) made the great Animal of the World, and that he directeth all the motions of it: μήτ' αὖ δύο τινὲ θεῶ, and that there are not two Gods governing the World with differing Counsels. In his *Sophista* (*e*) he determineth that God was the maker of things, which were not [that is, as such] before he framed them. In his *Timæus* (*f*) he calleth God ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς, the Maker and Father of every being: Adding, that it is difficult to find out this Father of the Universe; and that when he is found out, it is not fit to declare him to the vulgar. He was, it seems, a *Jehovah* not ordinarily to be named. They who have read his works with care, know what distinction he maketh betwixt (*g*) God and the gods: And how he extolleth the Divine goodness, and maketh it the very Essence of the supreme God. It is, indeed, to be acknowledged, that he set up other gods, in his Scheme of the Universe: Nay, that he owned a second, or third δημιουργὸς, or Artist of that great and noble frame of the visible World. But both he and his Disciples, what other Principle so-

a Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε.

b *Arch. Pythag. ap. Stobæum*, in Serm. 1. p. 15. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ κρατιστός ἐστι &c.

c *Tim. Locr. de An. Mundi. Inter op. Plat.* v. 3. p. 96—— τῶν ἁπάντων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ γενέτορα, &c.

d *Plat. Polit.* Vol. 2. p. 269. C. E. and p. 270. A.

e *Plat. in Soph.* vol. 1. p. 265. C.

f *Plato* in *Timæo.* vol. 3. p. 28.

g *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 2. p. 68. *Plato ille divinus multa de Deo digna, nec communia sentiens multitudini,——Deos dicit——corruptibiles esse naturâ, sed voluntate Dei——vinctione in perpetuâ contineri.*

soever they taught or believed, They still maintained it to be distinct from the [τ'αγαθὸν] the one supreme uncompounded Good. *Plato*, in his *Timæus* (*a*), teacheth expressly that the Soul of the World, which he calleth *a blessed God*, was made by the God who is eternal. *Timæus Locrus* (*b*) supposeth the World to be framed by the supreme God, and the Soul to be put into the middle of it by him that framed it: As if God made the World after the manner in which he made *Adam*. And *Sallustius* the Platonist, in his Book of God and the World (*c*), treateth professedly of the first Cause; concludeth a necessity of its Oneness; and celebrateth its virtue as so eminent, that it can scarce be expressed by any words. The truth is, those Gentiles who, with *Sallust*, admired God as the first and incomprehensible Cause; and with *Mercurius* in *Stobæus* (*d*), declared him to be a Being abstruse to the Mind, and impossible to the Tongue; such Gentiles, I say, would have erred less, had they stopped there, and not gone about to explane the mode of his Essence and Operation, whereby they have fallen into many false Idea's, and particularly into that of the Soul of the World. But makers of Hypotheses, especially in Subjects of such extent, do commonly lose themselves in their own Labyrinths. That Hypothesis of the Soul of the World is frequent, at this day, amongst the Philosophers of *India:* And yet that Sect of the *Benians* which is called *Samarath* (*a*), maintaineth the notion of a superior God. *They call him* Permiseer, *and believe* Him *to be the first Cause which created the World, and which governeth and preserveth the Universe, with a sovereign and unchangeable Power.* Change here but names, and the matter may be applyed to the Philosophy of *Plato*, who believed in one God, though he idoliz'd his Ψυχὴ, or Universal Soul, and

a *Plato ibid.* p. 34. B. —— διὰ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα εὐδαίμονα θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγεννήσατο.

b *Tim. Locr. de An. Mundi, inter Opusc. Græc.* p. 6.

c *Sallust. de Diis & mundo*, c. 5. καὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας. p. 10, 13. τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν μίαν τε εἶναι προσήκοι, &c. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὕτως ἄρρητον δύναμιν, &c.

d *Stobæ. Serm.* 78. *de Diis.* p. 466. Θεὸν μὲν νοῆσαι κακεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον.

a *Mandesio's* Travels into the *Indies*, l. 1. p. 55.

and too many other Deities of inferiour rank.

This, in brief, was the ſtate of the *Greeks*, in relation to the knowledg of God. Like to it was that of the *Romans*; and of them alſo, whence the *Greeks* and *Romans* borrowed ſome valuable notions, together with much droſs, that is, the *Egyptians*. (*a*) And they doubtleſs were beholding to *Abraham*, to *Joſeph*, to *Moſes*, to the Jews, who both before and after the Captivity came amongſt them. By ſuch means, and by the ſtudy of Nature, the *Ἰάω* and *Jove* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* came nigh, as well in ſenſe, as in ſimilitude of Letters, to the *Moſaic Jehovah*. *Numa Pompilius*, whoſe Religion inclin'd the people to chuſe him King after the death of *Romulus*, to the end that the Empire which was obtained by force, might be governed by Piety and Juſtice (*b*), as the Hiſtorian telleth us, it was in his Reign; *Numa*, I ſay, had ſtudied in *Egypt*, and he brought ſome of its Religion into *Italy* ſome Ages before *Pythagoras* (*c*) ſet foot there. It was not pure Religion; for he introduced the worſhip of the immortal Gods, (*d*) and the ſuperſtition of Augury. He, in the worſhip of *Veſta*, offered to them Univerſal Nature as the great Deity; but cannot be thought to have been ignorant himſelf of a Deity greater ſtill, having learned the ſame Cabala with *Pythagoras*, though according to the reſervedneſs (*e*) which he ſaw practiced by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, he did not divulge the myſtery to the multitude. And manifeſt it is, that the Religion of the *Romans*, was in leſs meaſure adulterated in the age from *Numa* to *Tarquinius Priſcus*, than after thoſe times. For he corrupted the Religion of *Numa* with the vanity of the *Greeks* and *Ethruſcans*: And he erected Images which *Numa* would not admit of. For *Numa* believed (ſaith *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*) that

a Alſo of the *Arabians*. See *Abul Farajius* and *Shareſtanius* in *not. Pocock.* p. 143: and of the *Gauri* or antient *Perſians*, ſee the Trav. of *Tavernier*. l. 4. c. 8. p. 167.

b *L. Ann. Florus*. l. 1. c. 2. p. 4, 5. And *Dion. Halicarn.* l. 2. Sect. 78. p. 186, 187, 188, &c.

c *Dion. Hal.* ibid. p. 183.

d *Flor.* ibid. *Ille ſacra, & cæremonias, omnemq; cultum deorum immortalium docuit: Ille Pontifices, Augures, &c.*

e See *Dion. Halicarn.* l. 2. p. 191, 192. of the unknown myſt. of *Numa*.

God could not be repreſented (*a*) by any Figure. And *Tertullian* (*b*) ſpeaking of the debaſement of Religion under *Tarquinius Priſcus*, ſheweth *Numa* to have been more chaſt in his Rites, and to have believed in a God to whom Ubiquity belonged. *Plutarch* alſo reporteth it concerning that wiſe Prince, that he forbade the People to think that God had the form of Man or Beaſt. And the notion of *Numa*, though much ſtifled, was not quite deſtroyed by the multitude of Gods and Statues. There were thoſe, in the days of *Cicero* (*c*), who recounting many Deities held by the Philoſophy of *Anaximander*, profeſſed themſelves unable to underſtand any other than one eternal God.

This God was ſometimes owned under the name of *Jupiter*, though that name was ambiguouſly applicable, to Him, to the Sun, to many Demons or Heroes. We may infer the eminency of the Deity, called by that name, from the Attributes given to him by ſober and Philoſophical men, when they argue about his Nature. Such a one was *Diotogenes* the *Pythagorean* (*d*), who ſpeaketh of God in the ſingular number; ſaith of him, that he is a King whoſe City is the World; calleth him by the name of *Jupiter*; and affirmeth that *Jupiter* is the ſupreme of all Powers, a God of Excellence, Goodneſs, Power, Juſtice; diſpenſing benefits to the World, and in that ſenſe, the Father of Gods and Men.

It is true that the Fathers, and many others do eſteem generally, of the *Grecian* and *Roman Jupiter* as of an Arch-Devil, and a Topical-god. And they deride his worſhip, as the adoration of a man, who was born and buried in *Crete*; at leaſt born ſomewhere on earth, as *Callimachus* himſelf confeſſeth (*e*), though he denies the honour to the *Cretians*; and is con-

a See *Lud. Viv.* in S. *Aug. de Civ. Dei.* l. 4. c. 31. p. 273.

b *Tertul. Apolog.* Sect. 25. p. 25. —— *nihor exilii, & Deus ipſe nuſquam.*

c *Cicero de nat. Deor.* l. 1. *Op.* p. 1113. —— *ſed nos deum, niſi ſempiternum, Intelligere quî poſſumus?*

d *Ap. Stobæ.* Serm. 46. *de Regno.* p. 330, 331, 332.

d *Callim. ap. Orig. Cont. Celſ.* l. 3. p. 137. —— Διὸς τάφον. —— See *Tertul. Apol.* Sect. 25. p. 25. *ſed nos ſtatim & Jupiter Cretam ſuam*, &c.

confident that, though he was born, he never dyed. *Jupiter*, saith *Arnobius* (*a*), *hath Father, and Mother, how can he then be a God?* *Tertullian* also had no other thoughts of *Jupiter* than of an Idol: For thus he discourseth (*b*). *I know one* (whom God forgive) *who when another, in the quarrel managed betwixt them, used this imprecation, let* Jupiter *be angry with you, answered again; nay, let him be avenged on you. What could have an Heathen man done more, who believed* Jupiter *to be a God?* The Senate and People of *Rome* do in a late Inscription in the Capitol, give notice (*c*), that the place was once dedicated unto *Jove*; but that they had made it sacred to the True God, to Jesus Christ the Author of all good things. And this opinion might well be entertained concerning *Jupiter*, for many Reasons: First, because the multitude, both in *Greece*, and *Italy*, did worship him in the quality of a Demon. The Poets of *Greece* set him forth as a Demon, though the Superior of them; and (as we read in the first *Iliad* of *Homer*) as a Power not perfectly Omnipotent, but subject to be bound by the rest of the Gods. And the Law of the Twelve Tables, before-cited, representeth him only as the President of the College of the sempiternal Demons, or *Dii Consentes* (*d*). Nay, of *Jove Plato* himself saith (*e*), that men esteemed him the best and most just of the Gods, and one who held his father in Chains for his unnatural cruelty to his Children. Secondly, Because the worship of *Jupiter*, in how high a notion soever he was sometimes taken, was not looked upon only by it self, but as the principal worship in the Religion of the Gentiles, giving denomination to the other parts of it. For the worship of *Jupiter* was, in effect, an acknowledgment of the whole Gentilism of *Rome Pagan*: And he that had adored *Jupiter*, would by that have

a *Arnob.* l. 1. p. 19.

b *Tertul. de Idol.* Sect. 21. p. 98.

c *Chytr. Mon. Roman.* A. 1568. p. 2.

d See the Inscr. *ap. Saubert. de Sacrific.* c. 5. p. 101. I.O.M. *cæterisq; Dis consentib.*

e *Plato in Euthy.* p. 5. Vol. 1. —νομίζοντες τὸν Δία τῶν Θεῶν ἀριστὸν καὶ δικαιότατον, &c.

have been judged, to have been likewiſe a devout Servant of *Juno* and *Venus*, and the reſt of that Society of *Grecian* and *Roman* Idols. However, under this name, ſome of the wiſe Gentiles did mean the ſupreme Deity, diſtinct from their College of Demons: and I ſuppoſe *Marcus Antoninus*, that Philoſophical Prince, to have been one of them. He ſays, indeed, concerning the thundering Legion, *That they prayed to a God which himſelf knew not* (*a*): Not that he owned not one ſupreme God, but that he underſtood him not in the ſubſiſtences of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, in which quality the Chriſtians applyed themſelves to him. Thirdly, *Jupiter*, when thought of under the notion of one higheſt God, whatſoever he was in ſpeculation, he was actually but an evil Demon. For the Perſons and things which he countenanced could never be approved of by the true and righteous God.

(*a*) *Marc. Anton. ap. Juſt. Mart. In fine Apol. 2. p. 102.* — Θεῷ, ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν. —

Let it then be granted (for why ſhould men oppoſe the evidence of plain words?) that ſome Gentiles entertained a notion of that God who is one and ſupreme.

PART 4.

What Applications they made to one God.

THis being confeſſed, There is a Second inquiry to be made, whether ſuch Gentiles worſhipped him, or made Religious Application to him? And it is evident they did ſo, both by Prayers, Sacrifices, and Images.

Prayer to him was conſequent to their Apprehenſions of him as the Allſufficient and bountiful Governour of Mankind. And ſometimes they prayed to him in the very form of [Κύριε ἐλέησον, or] *Lord have mercy*, which the Ancient Chriſtians uſed. *Ennius*, in *Cicero*,

* (*b*) de-

(*b*) declareth that *Jove* was invoked by All. He calleth him [*Sublime Candens*] not meaning the Sun, but the Power that cauſeth Lightning, and the *Jove* who, in *Euripides* (there alſo cited by *Tully*), is owned as [*Summus divus*] the ſupreme God. *Simplicius*, in the concluſion of his Notes on *Epictetus* (*c*), uſeth this excellent form: *I addreſs my ſelf humbly to thee, O Lord, thou Father and guide of our Reaſon, that we may be mindful of that nobility with which thou haſt adorn'd us:——That we may be purged from the contagion of the body, and bruitiſh affections; governing them as becometh us, and uſing them as Inſtruments.*—— If *Simplicius* be ſaid to learn this under Chriſtianity, that cannot be objected againſt *Socrates* and *Plato*. *Socrates* prayeth (*d*), not only to the gods, but to the ſupreme God, under the Title of *Pan*, in the firſt place. " And he prayeth that he may be beautiful within; and " that he may eſteem the wiſe-man only to be the man " truly wealthy: referring to the things before diſcourſed of in the *Phædrus* of *Plato*. The ſame *Plato* begins his ſecond Dialogue called *Alcibiades* (*e*) by this queſtion (put to that Philoſopher, by *Socrates*, who apprehended him to be in a deep contemplation); *Whether he were going about to call on God?* And thence occaſion is taken of ſaying many wiſe things, on that Subject, in the ſequel of that Dialogue. And about the middle of that Diſcourſe, he repeateth a very prudent form of Prayer uſed by a Poet (*f*), who be- " ſeecheth his God to give him the things which were " good for him, though he ſhould happen not to pray " for them; and to keep from him ſuch things as were " hurtful, though through error he ſhould make ſup- " plication for them. Again, in *Timæus*, *Plato* obſerveth (*g*) that thoſe who have any ſhare of under- " ſtanding, when they undertake any thing, be it of ſmaller

b *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. 2. p. 1129. *Adſpice hoc ſublime Candens, Quem invocant omnes Jovem.*

c *Simplic. in Epict. Enchir.* p. 331. ἱκετεύω σε, Δέσποτα, ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν, &c.

d *Socr. ap. Platon. Phædr. in fine.* p. 279. Ὦ φίλε Πὰν &c.

d *Plat. Alcib.* 2. p. 138. Ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη ἆρα γε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν σκοπεῖς & τοιοῦτο, &c.

f p. 143. Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, &c.

g *Plato in Timæo.* Vol. 3. p. 27.

"ſmaller or of greater concernment, do always in-
"voke God. To ſuch Invocation he exhorteth (*a*)
at the conſtitution of any City or civil Body. And
he urgeth Prayer in ſo many places, that I have not
room for the repetition of them, in that compaſs to
which I have deſign'd to confine my Diſcourſe.

a *Plato de Legibus. l. 4. vol. 2. p. 712.* Θεὸν δὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πίλεων κατασκευὴν ἐπικαλώμεθα.

For Sacrifice, That alſo the Gentiles offered to God. *Plato* joyneth both together in the concluſion of his *Theages*. There (*b*) *Theages* exhorteth to an appeaſing of the *Numen* worſhipped by *Socrates*, by Prayer and Sacrifice; and *Demodocus* and *Socrates* are conſenting to it. And *Porphyry* ſuppoſeth ſome Gentiles to have offered Sacrifice to the ſupreme God, whilſt he taxeth them for offering to him Animals, as unmeet oblations, or indeed, any thing beſides a pure Mind. *Martinius* in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory of *China* (*c*), thinketh that people to have worſhipped the true ſupreme God under the name of *Xangti*: And he further obſerveth, that they offered Prayers and Sacrifices to him, though they uſed no Images in his worſhip.

b *Plato in Theag. Vol. 1. p. 131.*

c *Mart. Hiſt. Sin. l. 4. p. 149.*

For Images, The Gentiles uſed them in the worſhip of the one God, and not only whilſt they Religiouſly obſerved their Demons. *Origen* ſuppoſeth Statues of both kinds in uſe amongſt them, where he ſaith (*d*), that *Thoſe Heathens expoſe themſelves to the deriſion of all men of ſound mind, who, after their Philoſophical diſputations* [περὶ θεοῦ, ἢ θεῶν] *of God or gods, reſpect Statues, and either pray to them, or endeavour, by the contemplation of them, as by conſpicuous ſigns, to raiſe their minds* [ἐπὶ τὸν νοούμενον] *to the Intelligible Deity. In the mean time* (as he continueth his Diſcourſe) *the meaneſt Chriſtian is effectually perſwaded that all the World is the Temple of God: And he prayeth to him, in all places, with cloſed eyes, but with the Lights of his mind*

d *Orig. contr. Cel. l. 7. p. 362.*

Mind erected towards Heaven. This had been no refutation of *Celſus*, if the Gentiles had not worſhipped the God that is every where, without Images, by Prayer and a pure intention. *Origen*, in the ſame Book (*a*), in anſwer to *Celſus*, who had denied Images to be worſhipped as Gods, and affirmed them to be Divine Statues only; replyeth in this manner. *We cannot think theſe Images to be ſo much as Divine Statues; ſeeing we circumſcribe not the incorporeal and inviſible God, with any figure.* He ſuppoſeth the Heathen had done ſo; elſe he had in vain contended againſt their Statues by ſuch an Argument, fetched from the ſpirituality and ubiquity, not of Demons, but of the true and Sovereign God. To him it appeareth, that ſome Gentiles did apply themſelves in the three ways abovementioned, of Prayer, Sacrifice, and Image-worſhip.

a *Orig. contr. Celſ.* l. 7. p. 376.

PART 5.

Whether they worſhipping one God, could be guilty of that ſin.

NOW that being proved, a third Queſtion comes to be reſolved; Whether the acknowledgment of one God by the Gentiles, and their Application to him, being granted, they are yet liable to the charge of Idolatry?

In anſwer to this enquiry, I purpoſe to ſhew, that they are ſtill charged; that they might be guilty notwithſtanding that conceſſion of owning one God; and that in divers reſpects, that guilt was actually contracted by them. They are charged with this high offence, by *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Minucius Fælix*, *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, S. *Cyprian de vanitate Idolorum*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, and

a long order of others: And to cite them in all the places which are pertinent to this matter, were to repeat a great part of their works. The matter is so notorious, that I will illustrate it only by a single instance. Let that instance be made in *Julian* the Apostate [if he were ever a Christian, in whom the tares of Gentilism were sown so very early by *Libanius*; and appeared ripe so soon as ever the Glory of the Empire shone upon him]: This man hath been condemned by the common consent of the Christian Church in being since his time, as a manifest and infamous Idolater, and a very Bigot in Heathenism; and yet he acknowledged one God, and him who is truly the Lord of Lords. He declared this to be the opinion of his Sect (*a*), That there was a common Parent and King of Men. He worshipped that *Jupiter* (*b*) who is the giver of all kinds of good; who is (*c*) the greatest and most powerful Being. He worshipped (though not without the intermixture of a false Religion) the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. He says so much in Terms, in one place (*d*) and upon his Oath. He says the same elsewhere (*e*) in effect, whilst he reports the pains he took (though perfectly in vain) to raise the Temple of *Jerusalem* out of its ruines; and thereby, as he pretended, *to erect a Monument to him, to whom it was sacred.* It is true, that S. *Cyril* doth bring his sincerity under question (*f*), and believes that, in his heart, he placed the God of *Abraham* amongst his Topical deities: Yet, for *Jupiter Ithometes* (*g*) worshipped by *Julian*, S. *Cyril* granteth him to be esteemed the Prince of the Gods. And why he should think that *Julian* believed not the God of *Abraham* to be the true Jehovah, I cannot readily conjecture; seeing that Emperor had perused the *Old Testament*, which declares him to be the Creator and Go-

a *Julian Apost.* ap. S. *Cyril. Alex.* l. 4. *ad Init.* p. 115.

b *Julian in Fragm.* p. 534. *Oper.*

c *Jul. ap. Cyr. Al.* l. 10. *cont. Jul.* p. 354.

d *Ap. Cyr. Al.* l. 10. p. 354. Καὶ τοι, μὰ τὸν Θεὸν, οὐκ οἶμαι τῶν ἐκτετριμμένων συνεσομαι τὸν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν σεσεμνυῶν τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ.

e *Jul. in Fragm. Epist.* p. 541. *ap.*

f S. *Cyr.* l. 10. p. 355, 356.

g *Id.* l. 4. *contr. Jul.* p. 128. ὁ τῶν Θεῶν πατὴρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν.

Governour of all things, and not meerly, as the Nations transplanted into *Samaria*, grossly imagined, *The God of the Land* (*a*). If now *Julian* and some other Heathens entertained so worthy a notion of God, they are, so far, acquitted of that sort of Idolatry which establisheth the Polytheism of some or many coequal Gods; but still they might be, in other regards, the worshippers of Idols.

(*a*) 2 Kings 17. 26, 27.

That they might be so, appeareth from the definition of Idolatry, in which it is shewed that the giving away the honour of God to another Object is a degree of that crime, though it be not his supreme honour: Though we do not take the Crown of incommunicable honour from him, and, by our fancy, place it on a creature. It appeareth again from the practice of the Jews, who are by God himself accused of Idolatry, even when they in part owned and worshipped him, and before they were wholly led into captivity, and mingled again among the Heathen. They had not forgotten, perfectly, the God of *Israel* in whose Law they read; though like Adulteresses, they shared their Love with Idols. Wherefore God Almighty required *Hosea*, not (as I think) in a literal sense, but according to the way of a Prophetical Scene, to take unto him an Adulteress (*b*); thereby personating the state betwixt himself and the Children of *Israel*, who, though they had not rejected him as their true and supreme Husband, yet they had gone a whoring after the inventions of the Gentiles, and provoked God to give them a Bill of Divorce.

(*b*) Hosea 3. 1, 2, 3.

Whilst I am here affirming, that a people who own one God, may yet commit Idolatry, I mean not this meerly of such who judge him to be, Nature, the Sun, or the Soul of the World, all which are finite or imaginary Objects, and by consequence, Idols, as often as they

are adored in the place of God: But I speak even of the Gentiles who own'd one true incomprehensible Creator; who with *Callicratidas* the Pythagorean (*a*), acknowledged [ὃν ἄριστον] one best Being, [ἀρχά τε καὶ αἰτία τῶν ὅλων] and such as was the Beginning and Cause of all things. Some of these did actually commit Idolatry, in their worship of the Statues of God, of Demons, and of the Images of those subordinate Deities.

a *Callicr. ap. Stob. Serm.* 83. p. 486. 20.

PART 6.

Of their Idolatry in worshipping the Statues of God.

First, their Idolatry consisted in the worship of the Statues of God. This, indeed, was not the highest degree of that false Religion, for they did not, hereby, dethrone God, and give to the creature his most essential perfections; but yet they gave away such honour as he had not bestowed who was the proprietor of it. They did so, in the worship, both of the natural, and of the artificial Statues of God. The Principal natural Statue was the Sun. For some of the Philosophical Gentiles made not the Sun it self the ultimate Object of their worship, but they adored God in it. Hence they gave to *Vulcan* [that is, the Sun] the Name, sometimes of God, and sometimes of Fire, as *Plutarch* (*c*) instructeth us out of *Archilochus*. And *Maximus Tyrius*, being one of more refined Reason than the generality of the Heathens, would not confess that the Sun and the Fire were any further deified, than as they were (*c*) ἀγάλματα, the Statues or Images of God. The same excellent Philosopher upbraideth the Persians for neglecting the Statues of the fruitful Earth, and the glorious Sun, and the great path of Commerce, the Sea; and chusing the

b *Plutarch. de audiend. Poet.* p. 23.

c *Max. Tyr. Dissert.* 38. *utrum diis sint dicandæ statuæ.* p. 371.

the devouring Fire as their Statue and their God. In which words, he ſuppoſeth the preſence of a Deity in the Fire, and the Fire to be only the Statue or Image of it, according to the *Perſian* Theology.

Now, in Two things, conſiſted the Idolatry of the Heathens, whilſt they worſhipped the natural Statues of God.

Firſt, They were Idolatrous in ſetting up thoſe natural Statues, as the places of Gods peculiar Reſidence. And this the Fathers objected to the Heathens; ſhewing them, that Chriſtianity repreſented God, as one that filled the World, and not as one that dwelt (like a Star) in ſome cœleſtial Sphear; and taught them in their Prayers to him, to exalt their thoughts above all material Heavens: Or (as *Origen* (*a*) is pleaſed to expreſs it) *above even ſupercœleſtial Places.* And for this they had Reaſon: For the Gentiles, by worſhipping creatures as Gods Statues, gave Gods relative honour to them, whilſt he owned them only as his workmanſhip, and not as his eſpecial Images or Temples. Thereby, likewiſe, they bred in their minds a diſhonourable Idea of God, as of one who, like a finite Being, dwelt in certain places. This was not the notion of him amongſt all, but the worſhip of him by natural Statues made all of them prone to it. *Plato* himſelf was under the Temptation. He was not come to any determinate belief concerning the Stars, whether they were Gods, or only the Statues of them. But, upon ſuppoſition that they were Statues (the part to which he is moſt inclined) he would have them honoured beyond all Statues on earth, as being made ſuch by a Divine Power (*b*).

Secondly, The Gentiles were guilty of Idolatrous Worſhip, in making ſome, at leaſt, of the natural Statues of God, voluntary and authoritative diſpoſers of

a *Orig. contr. Celſ.* l. 7. p. 362. χριστιανὸς—οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀψίδα ἵσταται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐπουράνιον γενόμενος, &c.

b *Plato in Epinom.* p. 983, 984.

of good and evil, under God, in the World; though not as the supreme dispensers of them. They believed the Stars to be animated [at least with an assistant form] and as *Maimonides* reporteth of them (*a*), created by God for the Government of the World. And we receive it upon the valuable Authority of *Garcilasso de la Vega* (*b*) that the *Ynca's* of *Peru* adored the Sun as the visible Deity, by which the greater God, who was invisible, ruled this World.

A due consideration of this Fancy amongst the Gentiles, leadeth us to the true Original of Astrology, and to a right account of *Talismanick* Statues. The present Astrology pretendeth to be Natural and Philosophical, and to solve the effects it foretelleth (if any it doth, besides those of Light and Shadow, as in Eclipses) by the mechanical influence of the Stars, which variously combine their light and heat. But the *Egyptian*, *Chaldean*, and *Grecian* Astrology was, in truth, an Astrological Magick, built upon the hypothesis of their Demons, and the Heavens which they governed. And they did not think that the Stars wrought a mighty effect, or impregnated a Talisman, by their proper virtue, but as they were either Intelligences themselves, or divinely influenced and directed by the Demons which resided in them, and governed part of this lower World. The *Chaldeans* (*c*) assigned Twelve Gods as Governours of the year, and apportioned to each of them one sign in the Zodiack. To these they added Thirty Auxiliary Gods in Thirty Stars, of which Fifteen were to have inspection on things below the earth; and Fifteen above it. And in the Kalendar of *Julius Cæsar* (*d*), each God had a Month under him, and in it, the several Constellations. *Juno* governed *January*, *Neptune February*, *Minerva March*, *Venus April*, *Apollo May*, *Mercury June*, *Jupiter*

a *Maimon. de Idol.* l. 1, c. 1. p. 3.

b L. 2. c. 1.

c *Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist.* l. 2. c. 30. p. 113.

d *Ap. Gassendum, in vol.* 5. *Op.* l. 4. p. 560. *& in Marm. Farnes. ap. Stew. Elect.* p. 120.

piter Quintilis or *July*, *Ceres Sextilis* or *Auguſt*, *Vulcan September*, *Mars October*, *Diana November*, *Veſta December*. At this day the Aſtrological Judgments refer to demonology. Thus *Saturn* the ſevere Demon, is made to ſignifie malicious perſons; *Mars* the Bloody Demon, furious, proud, valiant perſons; and by their Influence to diſpoſe to ſuch Qualities. The Horoſcope or Aſcendant is made the principal of all Angles, or if not that, then the *Culmen Cœli* by *Ptolomy*; and this judgment at firſt came from the worſhip of the Sun the principal Demon, and moſt reverenced in thoſe Angles.

In this worſhip then, although ſubordinate, The Gentiles placed Gods Authority where God himſelf had not done it; and their Hopes, and Fears, and Thanks, reſpected certain Creatures, when they were due to God, diſpenſing good and evil immediately by himſelf; or if by them, doing it by them as miniſterial Cauſes, not as ſharers in his Government. But of this, more, when I come to conſider their worſhip of Demons; of which, the Stars themſelves were one ſort to ſome of them, whilſt they aſcribed to them a high degree of perception and voluntary Power. They thought of the Sun as of an Archangel; though the Diſciples of the Philolaick Syſteme called it only the Organ of God (*a*), and the Divine Harp, by reaſon of the Harmony which its motion gave to the reſt of the cœleſtial Bodies.

(*a*) *Dorylaus, ap. Cenſor. de die nat. c.13.p.57.*

Again, they erred in their worſhip, about the artificial and inſtituted Statues of God.

Some of theſe Statues were, poſſibly, at firſt, no more than monumental Pillars, and Records of ſome extraordinary work of God, diſcerned to be the effect of his finger, by proof of ſufficient Reaſon: And ſo far the Gentiles were commendable, as well as *Jacob* of

of the Line of *Abraham*. For it is the nature of true and grateful devotion, to retain, and propagate the memory of Gods Acts, which by the eminent Wiſdom, Mercy, Power and Juſtice of them, are proper for the exciting of admiration.

But I cannot go on in praiſing them, for the honour they gave to other kinds of Statues, which their fancy erected to the ſupreme God.

Of theſe, ſome had leſs Art beſtowed on them, being great pieces of Wood or Stone, without any Imagery of Man or Beaſt, of Fiſh or Fowl, carved or painted on them. Some regular figure they ſometimes had, as that of an Egg which they ſuppoſed in many things, and particularly in its figure, to reſemble the World (*a*). Such Statues they worſhipped two ways, firſt, as the Symbols of Gods eſpecial preſence: Secondly, as pledges of his favour to them, whereſoever he was, ſo long as they held them in poſſeſſion; and both ways they egregiouſly offended. They offended by worſhipping ſuch Statues as the Symbols of Gods eſpecial preſence. For thereby they aſcribed the relative honour, due to Gods true Shechinah, to an Object which was exalted to that Divine condition, not by his approbation, but by their fancy. And if their fancy was moved to this falſe eſtimation, by ſome amazing effects wrought before them, upon the performance of their Religious Rites, they were Idolatrous in that caſe, by honouring the power of Demons as Gods Omnipotence. For God permitted evil Spirits to ſeduce thoſe Pagans, by ſtrange and uncommon operations, wrought at their Statues, who refuſed to live in the uſe of their Reaſon. Further, They tranſgreſſed in uſing Statues as the pledges to aſſure them of Gods favour, ſo long as they remained with them. Such were the *Ancilia*, and the *Palladium* introduced by *Numa*,

(*a*) Ἐρμηνεύουσι δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸν κόσμον. *Porphyr. de Thebaidos Incolis.* *Cœlum eſt Teſta; item Vitellum, Terra; inter illa duo humor quaſi in ſinum cluſus aeri, in quo calor. Varro.* See *Voſſ. de Theol. Gentil.* l. 1. c. 5. p. 17.

Numa, amongst the *Romans*. He did not celebrate them as Statues in which God dwelt, but as secret pledges of Empire (*a*). And this conceit, also, begat Idolatry amongst them; for they gave that honourable trust due to God and his Shechinah, and the pledges of his favour, to things devised by politick men, and such as God neither formed, nor sent, nor appointed as Instruments of defence amongst any people.

a L. A. *Flor.* l. 1. c. 2. *de Numâ*, P. p. 4. *Ille Ancilia, atq; Palladium, secreta quædam Imperii Pignora*, &c.

Other Statues they used as Images and representations of the supreme God. This practice *Macrobius* doth not deny, but he denieth it to be Antient (*b*). And it is plain, by his Context, that he referreth to *Plato*, and to the Platonick notions which exalted God above all the parts of Nature. And for *Plato*, it was agreeable to his principles, to abstain from all representations of God, whom he believed to be incomprehensible. *Viretus* saith of him, (*c*) that seeking after some matter fit for the Image of God, he could find none proper for that Divine purpose. But he here committeth a double mistake: For in the place which he meaneth, *Plato* speaketh not of any matter for the Image of God, but for the Statues of the Gods; and at last he pitcheth upon certain materials for that use. The Philosopher (*d*) thought Gold and Silver unfit, because they were invidious things; and Brass and Iron, because they were instruments of War; and Ivory, because it was the Tooth of an Elephant, dead already, or obnoxious to death. But at last he concludeth (from what reason I know not), that an entire Tree or Stone might make a Mercury, or an Image of a Demon. [For the *Europeans* were not so costly and pompous in their Images (*e*) till the Conquest of *Asia*, the Fountain of Luxuries.] But though Platonists contented themselves with inward Ideas, yet all the Gentile

b *Macr. in som. Scipion.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 9. *nullum ejus* [h. e. *summi dei*] *simulacbrum, quod cum Dis aliis constitueretur, finxit Antiquitas.*

c *Viret. de Orig. vet. & novæ Idol. l.* 3. c. 9. p. 84.

d *Plato de Legibus.* l. 12. p. 955, 956.

e *Plin. nat. Hist.* l. 34. c. 7. p. 870. —*lignea*, &c. *deor. simul.* —— *usq; ad devictam Asiam.* ——

World did not; but divers of them made and worshipped external representations of God the Creator. So did the *Egyptians* who represented their supreme *Cneph*, though diversly; as appears from the description of him in *Porphyry* (*a*), and his Image in *Cartari* (*b*). So did the *Greeks*; *Porphyry* himself confessing that they worshipped God in the Image of a man, but making an excuse which Statuaries and Worshippers seldom thought of. By God he means the supreme Deity, and not some one only of the Divine Powers; for he mentions [τὸν Θεὸν (*c*) as well as τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις] God himself, and not only Divine Virtues, in offering his reason for their worship by Images. He, there, alloweth the Deity to be invisible, and he yet thinks him well represented in the form of a Man; not because he is like him in external shape, but [ὅτι λογικὸν τὸ θεῖον,] because that which is Divine is Rational. That was not the common Cause, but an inclination to a sensible Object, and an apprehension of humane Figure as that which was most excellent, and which belongeth to a King and Governour; under which notion, in the grosser Idea of it, their reverence of earthly Potentates had pictured God in their heads. When *Origen* objected to *Celsus* (*d*) the vanity of worshipping the invisible God in the visible form of man, *Celsus* neither denieth the matter of fact, nor apologizeth after the manner of *Porphyry*, but retorteth the objection on the Christians, who professed that man was made after the Image of God. And *Origen* observeth, that *Celsus* did not understand how to distinguish, here, betwixt *being the Image of God*, and *being made after it*: And, that, he ignorantly cited the Christians, as saying, "That *God made Man his Image, and an appearance like himself* (*e*). And, at this day, Pagans, when they entertain a Phantasm

a *Porphyr. ap. Euseb. de Præp. Evang.* l. 3. c. 11. p. 115. Τὸν Δημιουργὸν, ὃν Κνὴφ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀνθρωποειδῆ, &c.

b *Cartari Imag.* Par. 1. p. 81, *Imagine del dio creatore degli Egittii*, &c.

c *Porph. ap. Eus. de præp. Evang.* l. 3. c. 7. p. 97, 98.

d *Orig. Contr. Cels.* l. 7. p. 376.

e *Cels. ap. Orig. ibid.*— φησὶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν "ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς "ἐποίησε τὸν "ἄνθρωπον "ἰδίαν εἰκόνα "καὶ εἶδος ὅ-"μοιον ἑαυ-"τῷ.

taſm of God, they are, moſt commonly, *Anthropomorphites*. A very late and principal Actor, in the ruine of the Town of *Sacoe* in *New-England*, was an Enthuſiaſtick *Indian* called *Squango* (*a*), who, ſome years before, pretended that God appeared to him in the form of a tall Man in Black Clothes. Now the Gentiles worſhipping ſuch Ideas or external Images, as forms of God, do miſplace his Honour, by paying their relative veneration to Objects which were not like him, but infinitely unworthy of him. They turned the Glory of Gods Eſſence into vile and deſpicable ſimilitudes.

(*a*) *J. Mather* in Hiſt. of the War in *New-England* with the *Indians*. P. 13.

A worſe ſort of Idolatry ſtill (if worſe can be) were thoſe Gentiles guilty of, who, by Images (ſuch as thoſe of *Baal* and *Pan*) adored Nature, or the Sun, as the ſupreme God. The very Prototypes, here, were Idols. So that, in this kind of worſhip, both the ultimate and intermediate, the direct and the relative Honour of God, was devolved on the creature.

PART 7.

Of the Idolatry of the Gentiles in their worſhip of Demons.

A Second branch of the Idolatry of the Gentiles, even of their Philoſophers, and men of deep diſputation, was the worſhip of Demons.

In this worſhip they were Idolatrous four ways.

Firſt, By worſhipping Demons as Powers which, under God, had a conſiderable ſhare of the Government of the World, by Commiſſion from him.

Secondly, By worſhipping Demons which were Devils, or wicked and accurſed Spirits.

Thirdly, By worſhipping the Images of ſuch Demons.

Fourthly, By their immoderate officiouſneſs towards theſe inferior Deities, which left them little leiſure for attendance on the ſupreme God.

Firſt, The Gentiles committed Idolatry by worſhipping Demons, as Powers which, with ſubordination to God, did, by his allowance, manage a great part of the Government of the World. They did not deny the ſupremacy of God, but they imagined that he ruled not the World by his immediate Providence, but by ſeveral Orders of Demons and Heroes, as his Subſtitutes and Lieutenants. Such as theſe were the Twelve Angels or Preſidents, which the *Egyptians* believed (*a*) to govern, by *Ternaries*, the four Quarters of the World. In the *Flaminian* Obelisk (*b*) the ſupreme *Momphta*, or *ſupramundane Oſiris*, is repreſented, as ruling the Twelve parts of the World, by Twelve Solar Demons in the form of Twelve Hawks [that is, of *Eagles*, for of that kind were the ſacred *Accipitres* of that Country]. There, as likewiſe in *Greece* and *Italy*, ſeveral inferiour Deities were appointed over ſeveral places, perſons and things. He that is not otherwiſe furniſhed, may read in *Kircher*, of the Genius of Fire (*c*), Air (*d*), Water (*e*), the Earth (*f*), Agriculture (*g*), of the Clouds (*h*), the Sun and Moon (*i*), of Heat and Moiſture (*k*); and of Fourty eight Aſteriſms as the ſtations of Fourty eight Deities (*l*). *Pythagoras* and *Plato* themſelves, (*m*) were, in this point, Authors of egregious Idolatry. *Pythagoras*, invented, or rather learned, from *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Thracians*, *Perſians*, his two Demons or Principles; the one good, the Parent of Unity, Reſt, Equality, Splendor; the other evil, the cauſe of Diviſion, Motion, Inequality, Darkneſs; for ſuch were the Terms which his School uſed in repreſenting their nature. And theſe became Objects of much

a *Kirch. Oed. Synt.* 1. c. 5. p. 118.

b *Ap. Kirch. Ibid. Synt.* 3. c. 2. p. 218.

c *Id. ibid. Tom.* 3. p. 277.
d p. 279.
e p. 2 o:
f p. 281.
g p. 282.
h p. 292.
i p. 295.
k p. 344.
l p. 300.
m *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei.* l. 8. c. 12. *Quod ritiam Platonici, licet de uno vero Deo bene ſenſerint, multis tamen Diis ſacra facienda cenſuerunt.*

much hope and fear, which ought to have been moved, not by mens devices, but by conſiderations taken from the Almighty Power, Juſtice and Goodneſs of God who is one. *Plato* ſeemeth to have aſcribed much both of the frame and of the government of the World to the *Genii* next to God: By Principles whom he eſteemed highly divine, but not by ſuch as he judged three Subſiſtences of the ſame ſupreme numerical Subſtance. If that had been his Creed (as ſome would have it, who can find in him the myſteries of the *Athanaſian* Articles), the earlieſt Hereticks, who denied the coequal Divinity of the Son of God, and therefore believed in another kind of *Logos*, had never come in ſuch numbers out of his ſchool; the place from whence the Fathers fetch them. (*a*) With them agreeth *Petavius* that learned Jeſuit, and in this Argument as learned as in any other. He ſaith it is moſt evident concerning *Arius* (*b*), that he was a very genuine *Platoniſt*. *Plato*'s principal Idea or *Logos*, was diſtinct in number and nature from his ſupreme Cauſe, or God. And thoſe who follow the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers, reaſon not with conſiſtence, whilſt they ſuppoſe this Idea to be the ſecond Perſon, and yet find in *Plato*, ſuch diſtinctneſs of Being, and (which to me ſeems very remarkable) a plain denial of his Generation. It is true, that *Plato*, cited by *Porphyry* (*c*), does call the ſecond Principle, δημιουργὸν λόγον, the Word which is the Workman; μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρώτην δύναμιν, the firſt Power after the ſupreme God; γνήσιον υἱὸν, the genuine or only Son of God; νοερὸν λόγον, the Intellectual Word. And yet he ſays of the ſame Power, which he calls, νοῦν ἀιώνιον, and νοῦν ἀνεπινόητον, an eternal and imperceptible Mind, that it is (*d*) αὐτογέννητος καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, unbegotten, and Parent to it ſelf: He likewiſe calls it νοῦν — καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστῶτα, a Mind ſubſiſting by it ſelf. And St. *Cyril*, who citeth

a *Tertull. de Animâ.* c. 23. p. 280. *Doleo bonâ fide Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum.*

b *Petav. de Trin.* l. 1. c. 8. Sect. 2.

c *Porphyr. ap. S. Cyr. contr. Jul.* l. 1. p. 32.

d *Id. ib.* p. 31. *D. E. in* l. 4. *Philoſ. Hiſt.*

citeth *Plato* out of *Porphyry*, and is willing to make the *Platonick Triad* the same in effect with the Christian Trinity (*a*), confesseth the third Principle, which should answer to the Holy Ghost, to be no other than the Soul of the World, which all *Platonists* understand to be a distinct substance from the first Cause. Nay, *Porphyry* himself, in the place which St. *Cyril* would serve his purpose on, calleth *Plato's* three Principles, [τρεῖς θεοὺς, (*b*)] not *three Hypostases* but *three Gods*. (*c*) Of his other Idea's I have little to say, I mean of those properly so called before the formation of the World. *Parmenides* is a Book, either so muddy, or so profoundly deep, that I cannot see to the bottom of it. Therein he discourseth of these matters with infinite subtlety, or rather perplexity of notion. One would imagin a man of his wit not so absurd as to think them eternal Substances, and models quite separated from the mind of God, but rather divine thoughts concerning the fashion of the World which he decreed to make. Yet *Ammonius* the Scholar of *Proclus* ascribeth to him that opinion, and followeth him in it: though herein *Aristotle* deserted his Master, and not without reason. And he sure, knew his meaning, and had a Key to his Mysteries. Other Idea's there were which *Plato* owned, and they were such as are more intelligible, and more proper for me to speak of in this Argument; they being Angels or Dæmons. The uncertain *Greek* Author (*d*) of the Life of *Pythagoras*, joined to that of *Porphyry*, discoursing of the World as consisting of twelve distinct Orbs, placeth in the first Sphere, God Almighty. After Him he rangeth the Inferior Deities, which from *Plato* he calleth Idea's, and from *Aristotle*, Intellectual Gods. He means the Intelligences of that Philosopher, though he made them to be but seven according to the number of the Planets which

(a) *Cyril. Ibid. p.* 34. *B. C.*

(b) *Porph. Ib. p.* 34. *C. D.*

(c) *Plato in Parmen.* p. 141. Vol. 3. —— Τί οὖν; τὸ ἦν, καὶ τὸ γέγονε, καὶ τὸ ἐγίνετο, οὐ χρόνον μέθεξιν δοκεῖ σημαίνειν τοῦ ποτὲ γεγονότος; καὶ μάλα. —— Τὸ ὂ —— οὔτε ποτὲ γέγονεν, &c. *Et ap. Cyr. l.* 1. *cont. Jul.* p. 32. δύναμις ἀγένητος, &c.

(d) *Anon. de Vitâ Pythag.* p. 213.

which he ſet them to move. Of *Plato* *Tertullian* ſaith, (*a*) 'That he held certain inviſible, incorporeal, ſuper-'mundial, divine, eternal, ſubſtances to which he gave "the name of Idea's, as the cauſes of viſible things. For his Archetypal Idea, it is manifeſt to the Reader of his Works, and particularly of his *Timæus*, that he ſuppoſed him to be a Being as ſubſiſtent by it ſelf as Matter, and diſtinct from the ſupreme Divinity. He ſpeaks of it as a Thing, Being, or Perſon, not as a meer pattern of Things; and his [παραδειγμα] or Platform, is held by him to be but the [εἰκὼν] or Image of his principal Idea (*b*). The next Power to his [τἀγαθὸν] or God the pure and unmixed Good, was [νοῦς] or Intellect, or [τὸ ὄν] Exiſtence compounded of Intellect and Unity, and diſtinct in ſubſtance from the firſt Cauſe according to *Plato*; though [νοῦς] was the firſt according to *Anaxagoras* (called νοῦς himſelf for this his *Dogma*) whom *Plato* outſhot by one Principle. The third *Platonick* Power was diſtinct from both the former, and it was [ψυχὴ or] the Soul of the World. *Nous*, *Pſyche*, *Logos*, and the like Myſtical terms, were but the names of certain eminent Demons placed by his Fancy at the right hand of God, and uſed in the works of Creation and Providence as Authorative Agents, and not as meer Inſtruments of the firſt Cauſe. They were therefore ſet up and reverenced with prejudice to the honour of the true God, who is the only Creator and Preſerver of all things. By Creation the *Platoniſts* meant only the diſpoſal of the Chaos into order: for their Philoſophy ſuppoſed Matter (*c*) to have been as Coeternal with God, as Light is coeval with the Sun. By *Plato* God is called [ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων] the Maker and Father of All that is (*d*). But he means not this of Him as of the immediate Cauſe, but as the Cauſe of the higher Principles, Cauſes, or Powers, which, with

(a) *Tertull. de Anima*, c. 18. p. 276.

(b) See *Strax. in Arg. Timæi Platon.* pag. 6.

(c) See *Salluſt. de Diis & Mundo.* c. 7. p. 15.

(d) See *Strax. in Arg. Timæi.* p. 5.

with ſubordination to him, produced in order ſuch as are inferior to themſelves. *Salluſt* the *Platoniſt* openly confeſſeth it, and out of him I will tranſcribe the ſenſe of part of a Chapter, concerning the modelling and governing of the viſible World, by the power of Demons. He had in his firſt Chapter concerning the Gods and the World, diſcourſed about God, or the firſt Cauſe of all things. A while after in his ſixth Chapter, (*a*) [which according to its Title, treateth of the Coſmical and Encoſmical, or of the Celeſtial and Worldly Gods;] he thus purſueth his Divine Subject. "Of the "Gods, ſome are Worldly, and others Heavenly. I call "thoſe Worldly who make the World. For the Hea-"venly, ſome of them make the ſubſtances of the gods, "[or Inferior Demons], ſome, the Mind; ſome, the "Souls (*b*). Wherefore, of theſe there are three Or-"ders, and they may eaſily be found in the diſcourſes "which are made of them. For the Worldly gods, ſome "make the World [or viſible frame of things]; ſome "animate it; ſome adjuſt the parts of it; and ſome "govern or preſerve it ſo compoſed. Here then being "four things, and each of them conſiſting of firſt, mid-"dle and extreme; it is neceſſary that they who diſ-"poſe them, be twelve in number. They therefore "that make the World are *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Vul-"can*. They who animate it, are *Juno*, *Ceres*, *Diana*. "They who adjuſt the parts of it, are *Apollo*, *Venus*, "and *Mercury*. They who preſerve it, are *Veſta*, *Pallas*, "and *Mars*.—Theſe firſt poſſeſſing the World before "others, [That is, the Pagan Heroes;] we may imagin "the others in them: To wit, *Bacchus* in *Jupiter*; "*Æſculapius* in *Apollo*; the *Graces* in *Venus*. We may "alſo contemplate their [ſeveral] Spheres: The "Earth, the Orb of *Veſta*; the Water, that of *Nep-"tune*; the Air, that of *Juno*; the Fire, that of *Vulcan*.

(a) *Salluſt. de Diis & Mundo.* c.6. p.13,14.

(b) οὐσίας, νῦν, ψυχάς.

Plato

Plato himself, as he is cited by St. *Cyril*, (*a*) supposeth God to have quitted, as it were, the care of things on Earth, and to have committed it to the Inferior gods for their diversion (*b*). It is true, that in four places *Plato* asserteth a divine Providence, taking care of the things on Earth, even of the least things; and doing it with ease, and being no way prevented by sloth. He doth this in his Tenth Book of Laws (*c*); in his *Politicus* (*d*); in his *Epinomis* (*e*); and in his *Phædo* (*f*): But where he asserteth this, he speaketh it as much of the gods, as of God. And in his *Phædo*, after *Cebes* had affirmed in the singular of God, that he consulted better for man, than man could for himself, and was an excellent Lord; *Simmias* and *Socrates* in some sort consenting to him, turn his sentence into the plural of Lords and Gods (*g*). *Julian* likewise, though he professed the belief of one true God, yet he assigned several Countries and Cities to the care of several Tutelar Gods (*h*). So we find in *Porphyry* (*i*) certain [μερικοὶ Θεοὶ, or] Gods that were conceived to be Presidents of Regions; such amongst whom the Government of the lower World was parted. The Gentiles indeed did not wholly exclude the supreme God, but they worshipped him as one who had not reserved unto himself the greatest share of the Government. Hence is it that we find among their ancient Inscriptions, many such as that remembred by *Elmenhorstius* (*k*); TO *JUPITER* THE BEST AND GREATEST [*Deity*], AND TO THE *GENIUS* [or *Demon*] OF THE PLACE. They thought of the supreme *Jove*, but they seldom thought of him without his Deputy.

Such Philosophy concerning the Lieutenancy of Demons is at this day on foot in *China*. There the *Litterati*, or those of the Sect of *Confusio*, own one God (*l*); and though they do not reverence him with any so-

a *Plato ap. S. Cyr. Alex. cont. Julian.* l. 2. p. 61.

b Ἄθυρμα Θεοῖς δοθέντων ἑτέροις.

c *Plato de Leg. lib.* 10. *Vol.* 2. p. 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904.

d *Id.* p. 273.

e *Id.* p. 980.

f *Id. in Phæd. Vol.* 1. p. 62, 63.

g *Id. ibid.* p. 63. *A.* —— Ἄρχοντας ἀγαθὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖς, Θεούς.

h *Jul. ap. S. Cyr.* l. 4. p. 115.

i *Porphyr. de Abstin.* l. 1. sect. 57. p. 49.

k *Elm. in Not. in Arnob.* l. 1. p. 23. *Jovi Opt. Max. & Genio Loci.*

l *Alv. Simedo in Hist. Sin. part.* 1. c. 18. p. 86, 87.

lemn worſhip, (as if he were a kind of unconcerned, *Epicurean* Deity), yet they have Temples for Tutelar Spirits. The Sect of the *Tauſi* alſo acknowledg one Great God, and other leſſer Ones, that is, Vicegerent Demons. The ſame ſort of Philoſophy is found amongſt the *Benjans*, in the Eaſtern *India*. The Sect of them called *Samarath*, though it believeth one firſt Cauſe (*a*), which created the World, yet it aſſigneth to him Three Subſtitutes, *Brama*, *Buſſiuna*, and *Mais*. "*Brama* (they ſay) hath the diſpoſal of Souls, which "he ſends into ſuch Bodies as *Permiſeer* [or the ſupreme God,] "appointeth for them; whether they "be the Bodies of Men or Beaſts. *Buſſiuna* teacheth "the World the Laws of its God: He hath alſo the "overſight of Proviſions for common life, and advan- "ceth the growth of Wheat, Herbs and Pulſe, after "*Brama* hath indu'd each of them with Souls. *Mais* ex- "erciſeth its power over the dead. This looks to me like a Tale of *Jupiter*, *Ceres* and *Pluto*.

a *Mandeſlo's Travels*, l. 1. p. 55.

This Opinion of the Gentiles, which aſcribeth ſo much of the Government of this World to Demons, as Gods Commiſſioners in certain Precincts, and as Superintendents over Places, Perſons, and Things, is manifeſtly contrary to the tenor of the Scriptures. They teach, (*b*) That God is the great diſpoſer of Good and Evil in all Cities and Places; and that his Providence extendeth to the fall of a little Sparrow, and of a leſſer thing than that, an hair of our head. That ſheweth us how he uſed great importunity for the turning of Jew and Gentile from the confidence which they placed in their *Gentii*. This, ſaith St. *Cyril* (*c*), he would never have attempted, if they had been Preſidents of his own appointment. His Angels miniſter before him, but they do not properly govern under him, much leſs is that true of Superexiſting Souls. The Angels

b See *Iſai.* 41. 22, 23. c. 43. 11, 12, 13. c. 45. 5, 6, 7.

c S. *Cyr. Alex. cont. Jul.* l. 4. p. 104.

Angels of *Græcia* and *Perſia* were ſuch Spirits, as did at that time ſerve his will in that particular employment. But we have no cogent reaſon (I think) to perſwade us, that they always enjoyed a ſetled Lieutenancy over thoſe Countries. It was a raſh concluſion which *Vatablus* drew from thoſe Viſions of *Daniel* (*a*), to wit, that to every Nation was aſſigned an Angel as Preſident over it. The whole of that Diſcourſe in *Daniel* is a Viſion, and a repreſentation of Heavenly things in a Scene upon Earth. And they who make particular application of every circumſtance, without due attention to the main deſign of it, forget that they confound Earthly and Heavenly things, and lay their groſs abſurdities of fancy at the door of the Spirit of God. Such (for inſtance ſake) would they be who ſhould think from this Viſion, that an Angel toucheth Gods Prophets with an hand at what time he inſpireth them, becauſe *Daniel* (*b*) ſo expreſſeth himſelf as if it were ſo done to him; or who ſhould believe that a good Angel ordained by God to comfort his Prophet, could be detained by an evil one for one and twenty days (*c*), until he prevailed againſt him by the aſſiſtance of *Michael*; becauſe the Scripture uſeth ſuch an humane Image, and alludeth to the impediments of good men on earth, who are not equal in power and motion to the miniſtring Angels, who are quick and vigorous as Spirits or Winds, and flames of Fire.

a *Vatabl. in* Dan. 10. 13: *ſingulæ Regionis habent Præſides ſingulos.*

b Dan. 10. 10.

c Vers. 13.

On ſuch quickneſs and vigor God ſerveth his Purpoſes by the temporary Miniſtry of Angels; but by Himſelf ſtill, and not by them as ſetled Delegates, He diſpenſeth favours and ſeverities. Accordingly God inviting the *Jews* to renounce their *Genii*, or inferior Deities and Patrons, [and not meerly to turn from evil Angels, and to apply themſelves to good ones;]

promiſeth by himſelf to ſend them that worldly plenty which they had ſacrilegiouſly aſcribed to their Idols. And St. *Paul* endeavouring to draw the *Lycaonians* from their Vanities, remindeth them (*a*) of the teſtimony which God had given them, of his Providence in ſending them fruitful ſeaſons. This if it had been done by Commiſſioned Demons, the Gentiles might have abated the force of the Apoſtles argument, which proveth the care of the ſupreme God by the ſupplies of outward bleſſings. The ſame St. *Paul* hath left us another Text, moſt worthy of our attention, in which he confirmeth the Government and the Providence of the ſupreme God; rejecteth the Lieutenancy of Demons, and owneth Chriſt alone as the Subſtitute of the Father. *Though there be*, ſaid he (*b*), *ſuch as are called Gods; though there be many* [Superior, and many Inferior *Baalim*] *Gods or Lords; yet to us* [Chriſtians] *there is but one God, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* He is the true God, and Eternal life: He is Gods Vicegerent, who is the Everlaſting ζωὴ of the Father; and not the *Platonick* Demon called ζωὴ, or that of the *Valentinians* (*c*), which together with their *Logos* made the ſecond Conjugation of their πλήρωμα, the firſt whence they came, being νοῦς and ἀλήθεια, *Mind and Truth* (*d*).

If then God by his Providence diſpenſeth immediately Good and Evil; if his care reacheth to things below the Moon (whoſe Orb ſome made the limits of it, with equal vanity and boldneſs; whilſt others, with *Maimonides* (*e*) allowed a Providence over man, but not over beaſts:) If he uſeth his Angels as miniſtring, not governing ſpirits; as meſſengers of ſeveral kinds, and not as Commiſſion-Officers of his Court, and adminiſtrators of the Affairs of his Kingdom; as the Attendants ordinary or extraordinary of his Subſtitute Jeſus Chriſt, but not as fellow-Viceroys: if he thus far only

a Act. 14. 15, 16, 17.

b 1 Cor. 8. 5.

c See *Iren.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 86, 87.

d *Vide Iren. paſſim, & S. Aug. de Her. in Her. Val.* c. 11. p. 33, 34.

e *Maimon. More Neb. part.* 3. c. 17. p. 381, 382, 383.

only uſeth his Angels, and it may be uſeth not departed Souls ſo far as this amounts to; it is plain Idolatry to worſhip Demons, as did the Gentiles, in that quality of divine Lieutenants. For from them they expect good and evil; them they fear, them they thank. When God ſendeth fruitful Seaſons, and by them Plenty, they ſend up their acknowledgments to the Queen of Heaven. When God healeth them, they ſacrifice to *Æſculapius*, as to him that removed their diſtemper from them. This is a very great Iniquity, and the common grounds or occaſions of it are highly unworthy of the true God. For moſt of them who believe not his immediate Providence, do meaſure his actions by thoſe of worldly Potentates. They conceive him out of ſtate, to do little by his own perſon; or out of eaſe and ſoftneſs, to commit the management of his affairs to others, both by temporary command, and by ſtanding Commiſſion. As if the greateſt variety of buſineſs could diſtract or weary him, who is Infinite in Knowledg, and Greatneſs, and Power. Thus St. *Cyril* (*a*) judged of "them who ſubſtituted leſſer Deities under him that "was ſupreme. He thought that they impeached God "of Arrogance or ſloth, or want of Goodneſs, which "envieth none the good it can do. And *Iſaiah* tacitly upbraideth thoſe who diſtruſted his Providence, of the like vile opinion concerning him, whilſt he ſaith of the Creator (*b*), that *He fainteth not, neither is weary.*

Secondly, The Gentiles were Idolaters through the worſhip they gave to ſuch Demons as were evil ſpirits. It is true, that *Plato* owned no inferior Deities but ſuch as were [by him eſteemed] good. He maintaineth this in his Tenth Book of Laws, and St. *Auſtin* confeſſeth it to be his judgment (*c*). He ſaith in his *Phædo* (*d*), That none were to be regiſtred among the gods but ſuch who had ſtudied Philoſophy and departed pure out

a *S. Cyril. Al. cont. Jul.* l. 2. p. 60.

b Iſa. 40. 28.

c *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, l. 8. p. 464. c. 13. *de ſententiâ Platonis quâ definivit Deos non eſſe niſi Bonos amicoſque virtutum.*

d *Plato in Phædon.* Vol. 1. p. 82. B. Εἰς δ' γε θεῶν γένος, μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῷ ἀπιόντι, &c.

out of this life. When he ſpeaketh of Demons who afflict men, he is to be interpreted rather of good Spirits executing Juſtice, than of evil Angels venting their malice. But, whatſoever his opinion was, it is moſt evident that the generality of the Heathens worſhipped ſuch Demons as were morally malignant. And ſuch *Porphyry* (*a*) eſteemed thoſe *Genii* who had bloody Sacrifices offered to them. The Gentiles ſacrificed to Devils, to the Powers of the Kingdom of Darkneſs, which were not only not God, but enemies and profeſſed Rebels againſt him (*b*). They were in *Porphyry*'s account, Terreſtrial Demons; ſuch who had groſs Vehicles, and conſequently were of the meaner and viler ſort of their *Genii*, and (as they love to ſpeak) ſunk deepeſt into matter. *Pſellus* and *Porphyry* repreſent them as united to a body of ſo groſs contexture, (*c*) that they could ſmell the Odors of the Sacrifices, and be fat with the ſteam of human blood. *Lucian* in his Book *de Sacrificiis*, abounds with pleaſant [or rather to them who pity the decays of human nature, with very ſad] ſtories of the Revels of Demons. Whether they were Terreſtrial ones or not, I here forbear to diſpute: but I conclude concerning them, that they were evil. Their nature ſhews it ſelf by the ſervices which they accepted, by the perſons whom they have favoured, and by the appearances and wonders with which they ſometimes encouraged them. The Rites with which they were worſhipped were bloody, rude, unclean; ſuch as an honeſt man would be aſhamed to obſerve (*d*). *Porphyry*, though a Gentile, hath recorded many of the bloody Sacrifices (*e*) offered by the *Rhodians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Græcians*; and he telleth of a man in his time ſacrificed in *Rome*, at the Feaſt of *Jupiter Latialis*. The like barbarity was commonly uſed in the worſhip of *Moloch*, and *Bellona*.

a *Porphyr.* l. 2. *de Abſtin.* Sect. 58. p. 96.

b 1 Cor. 10. 20.

c *Ap. S. Cyril. Al. cont. Jul.* l. 4. p. 124. See *Porph.* in l. 2. *de Abſtin.* Sect. 42. p. 85, 86. Ἅτε οἱ καλούμενοι λοιδῶ τὸ χυλωτὸ, δι' ὧν αὐτῶν τὸ πνευματικὸν, [*vehiculum aereum*, rather than, *pars ſpiritalis*, uſed by the Tranſlator,] πνεύματα, &c.

d See *S. Cyril. contr. Jul.* l. 4. p. 129.

e *Porphyr. de Abſtin.* l. 2. p. 93, 94, 95, &c.

And

And he muſt have ſuch a meaſure of Aſſurance as will ſuffer him no more to bluſh than his Ink, who writes down all the Obſcenities uſed in her worſhip, whom they uſually called the Mother of the Gods. *Origen* telleth *Celſus* concerning the Chriſtians (*a*), "That they "had learned to judg of all the Gods of the Heathen "as of Devils, by their greedineſs of the blood of "their Sacrifices, and by their preſence amidſt the *Ni-*"*dors* of them, by which they deceived thoſe who "made not God their refuge. And in another place, (*b*) he proveth this truth out of their own Hiſtories: and he inſtanceth particularly in their Deity *Hercules*; and he objecteth againſt him his immoral love, and that vile effeminacy which their own Authors record. I will not tell over again their fooliſh ſtories ſo very often told already; but offer to the Reader a Relation of freſher date, out of Idolatrous *America*. "In *Mexico* (ſaith an Author (*c*) who had ſojourned in that City), "the Heathens had dark houſes, full of Idols, great "and ſmall, and wrought of ſundry Metals: theſe "were all bathed and waſhed with blood, —— the "blood of men; —— the walls of the houſes were an "inch thick with blood, and the floor a foot. —— "The Prieſts went daily into thoſe Oratories, and ſuf-"fered none other but great Perſonages to enter with "them. And when any of ſuch condition went in, "they were bound to offer ſome man as a Sacrifice, "that the Prieſts might waſh their hands, and ſprinkle "the houſe with the blood of the Victim. With ſuch Sacrifices no good Angel could be pleaſed: wherefore the worſhip of ſuch being an honour done not to God, or his Miniſters, but to the Devil and his Angels, who live in perfect defiance of true Religion, is an Idolatry ſo deteſtable, that I have not at hand a name of ſufficient infamy to beſtow upon it.

a *Orig. cont. Celſ.* l. 3. p. 133.

b *Id. ibid.* p. 123.

c *Gage* in his Survey of the *Weſt-Ind.* c. 12. p. 115.

PART.

PART 8.

Of their Idolatry in worſhipping the Images of Demons.

Thirdly, The Gentiles were Idolaters in worſhipping the Statues or Images of Demons or Heroe's, either as thoſe Powers were reputed the Deputies of God; or as they were really evil ſpirits. The Religious Honour given to the Prototype was Idolatrous, and therefore the Honour done to the Image reſpecting the Prototype, was ſuch alſo. So he that bows towards the Chair of an Uſurper, does give away the honour of the true Soveraign; becauſe the external ſign of his ſubmiſſion is ultimately referred to the Uſurper himſelf.

The Honour which the Gentiles did to their Statues, redounded generally to their Demons; for their Theology did not ſet up ſuch Images (whatſoever vulgar fancy or practice did) as final objects of worſhip, or Gods in themſelves. It ſet them up as places of Divine Reſidence, wherein the *Genii* were thought to dwell, or to afford their eſpecial preſence in Oracles, and other Supernatural aids; as the true God was ſaid to dwell amidſt the Cherubims. The *Egyptians* (as *Ruffinus* (*a*) ſtorieth) entertained this ſuperſtitious perſwaſion, amongſt a multitude of others, That if any man had laid violent hands on the Statue of *Serapis*, the Heavens and the Earth would have been mixed together in a new Chaos. *Olympius* the Sophiſt (*b*) exhorteth the Gentiles ſtill to adhere to the Religion of their Gods, notwithſtanding the Chriſtians defaced their Statues. And he gave them this as the reaſon of his counſel, Becauſe (ſaid he) though the Images be corruptible things, yet in them did dwell (*c*) Virtues [or Demons] which from the ruins of their

a *Ruffin. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 23.

b *Olymp. Soph. ap. Soz. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 7. c. 15. p. 724. Ed. *Valeſ.*

c Δυνάμεις ἤ τινας ἐνοικῆσαι αὐτοῖς, &c.

their Statues, took their flight to Heaven. This Opinion *Arnobius* (*a*) and *Lactantius* (*b*) acknowledg to have been common among the Gentiles: and we may still read it in the writings of the wiser (shall I say, or the subtler and less excusable) sort of them. Of that number were *Celsus* and *Julian*. *Celsus* demandeth (*c*), Whether any man, besides a sottish Ideot who has not a grain of salt in his mind, can believe Stone, Wood, Brass, or Gold, formed by an Artificer, to be a God, and not rather a Statue sacred to the Gods? The Excuse of *Julian* is not unlike to that of *Celsus*. "We "worship Images (said that (*d*) Apostate Emperour), "not that we think them to be very Gods themselves, "but that by them [as Symbols] we may worship the "Gods. This *Petavius* the Jesuit in his Note on the Margent, calleth a frigid Evasion. I grant it is so; but is not the like Apology used in justification of Image-worship, by that Society of which *Petavius* was a a Brother? So goes the world, even the Learned world: the same reason is by factious Partiality called a piller in one mans Cause, and a straw in anothers.

But let us return to our Argument from this short digression. In pursuit of it, it ought to be taken notice of, that the Writers of the Old Testament seem to speak very differently from *Celsus* and *Julian*, in this matter of the Worship of Images and Statues. They seem to upbraid the Gentiles as the Worshippers of the very Statues themselves, without further reference unto God or Demons. There stood in *Zion*, then a Fort of the *Jebusites*, certain brazen Images, as *Talismanical* Protectors of it (*e*); in them the people trusted, believing that *David* (*f*) could not take that Fort till he had removed those divine Guards. With these *David* reproached the people, calling them *the Blind and the Lame, which his soul abhorred*; that is, such

a *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 6. p. 203, &c.
b *Lact.* l. 2. *de Orig. Err.* Sect. 2. p. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145.
c *Cels. ap. Orig.* l. 7. p. 373. Τίς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ πάντη νήπιος, ταῦτα ἡγεῖται Θεὺς, ἀλλὰ Θεῶν ἀναθήματα, καὶ ἀγάλματα;
d *Julian. in Fragm. inter Op.* p. 537. Οὐχ ἵνα ἐκεῖνα Θεὸς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν.

e See Mr. *Greg.* Notes on the place.
f 2 Sam. 5. 6, 7, 8.

Idols as had eyes and ſaw not; feet, and walked not. Other Prophets argue with Idolaters from their own experience; and appeal to them, whether their Idols could hear, or ſee, or help them? and whether they were not the works of mens hands which they adored (*a*)? They mock them as ſuch who prayed for a proſperous Journey, to an Idol that could not move; and who worſhipped one part of a dead Tree, which by the other part of it, ſerved for fuel; for fuel, not for their Altars but for the ordinary fires of their Kitchin. They do not deride them as vain men who truſted in a creature which had no power or virtue in it but what it derived from God, as a late *French* Author ſeems to ſuggeſt (*b*); but as ſuch who depended on an Idol; on a thing which neither in it ſelf, nor from any foreign cauſe, ſupreme or ſubordinate, contained or diſpenſed the virtue they aſcribed to it. One would be apt to conclude from ſuch ſcoffs of the Prophets, that the Gentiles made their very Images their ultimate Gods.

a Iſa. 41.7,21, 22,23,24, 29. & 44. 9,to 20. & 45. 20. & 46. 6, 7. Hab. 2.18, 19, 20. Zach. 10. 1,2.

b *De la Recherche de la verité.* Tom. 2. liv. 6. c. 8. p. 327, 328.

They did ſo by interpretation, but not by direct intention of mind, unleſs they were the very ſcum of the ſcum of the world. Thoſe who had any meaſure of underſtanding diſcourſed after the manner of *Clinia* in *Plato*'s Eleventh Book of Laws (*c*). "Of the Gods "(ſaid *Clinia*) ſome are ſeen; to others, which we "ſee not, we erect Images and Statues. And though "theſe Statues be in themſelves without life; yet we "eſteem them animated Deities, and believe whilſt we "worſhip them, that they are very favourable to us. The barbarous *Americans* made the ſame diſtinction with the Philoſophical *Clinia*. They were upbraided by Frier *Gage* (*d*) for worſhipping an Idol of black wood which they had placed in a Cave of the Earth. But inſtead of putting them to ſilence, he received this anſwer

c *Plato de Legibus*, l. 11. p. 930, 931.

d *Gage* in Survey of *Weſt-Ind.* c. 20. p. 391, to p. 398.

answer from them. They told him that themselves believed the Image to be but wood of it self; but that they knew also by their own ears, that it had spoken to them: they thence concluded that a God was in it, and that on such a miraculous voice, they rightly founded their devotion. This excuse then was common, but so was not such extraordinary operation as the *Americans* spake of. If it had been vulgarly notorious among the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Assyrians*, the Prophets would scarce have appealed to them, whilst they discoursed of the nullity and vanity of their Images; for then the people might have refuted their Argument by professing their experience of signs and wonders. But nothing was done Supernaturally by many of their Statues. Their Priests and Statesmen deluded them frequently with their Tales and Arts; and they sacrificed many of the Provisions for their BELS, to their own stomack. *Haly* speaketh (*a*) of Images in *Egypt* known to himself, which could move very strangely, as did the Dove of *Archytas*. *Ruffinus* mentioneth an Iron-Image of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*; and *Pliny* one of the same metal in the Temple of *Arsinoe*, sustained by *Magnets* (*b*); to the intent that the people might behold them with admiration, as supported in the air by nothing but Miracles. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (*c*) telleth of the Mother of *Marcius Coriolanus*, and of other Women sent in Embassy to him by the Senate, when he had made defect to the *Volsci*; that prevailing with him to restrain his Forces, the Senate out of the publick Treasury built to *Fortune* a Temple and an Image, and the Women erected a second Image at their private charge. Of this second Image he reporteth out of the Pontifical Records (Registers of their own cheats under better names and colours); that it spake *Latine* in the audience of many. What it spake was it seems

a *Apud Reichettum de Amuletis.* p. 36.

b See *Pincieri Ænigm.* l. 1. *Ænig.* 7. p. 17, 18.

c *Dion. Halicarn. Rom. Ant.* l. 8. sect. 10. p. 784, 785.

to this ſenſe, *O ye Matrons! ye, by the Holy Law of the Commonwealth, have made this dedication of me.*

Where there was not this deeper art, much was contributed towards the deluſion of the people, by the ſolemn worſhip, the coſtly and pompous dreſs, the ſtately Proceſſions, the ſecret Repoſitories of the Idols of the Heathen. Diſtance procured reverence, and the ſplendor of Gold (of which ſome conſiſted, and the gilding by which others (*a*) were made very glorious) created amuſement (*b*) in the eyes and fancies of the Vulgar, who have ſcarce reaſon enough to correct their ſenſes. The Statuaries were not maſters of much true Art: we ſee little of proportion in their Images, or of Ordonance in their Tables. That of *Iſis* ſhews an ill hand, and a worſe judgment. But of ſuch Art as might amuſe and aſtoniſh, either with pleaſant or frightful magnificence, there was enough among the rudeſt Gentiles. In *Goa* the Heathens of *Eaſt-India* (*c*) built a Temple of black ſtone, and ſhaped their *Pagods*, or Idols, in figures of horror. In *Pegu* (*d*) they abounded with Idols of pure gold, whoſe Crowns were enriched with valuable Jewels. One of theſe was of a prodigious heighth, and they called him *Apalita*, and ſuppoſed him to be a Guide to Pilgrims. They had alſo a ſtatue of ſilver in the proportion of a Giant; and he was ſuch a Patron among them as *Mars* was among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Peter Della Valle* (*e*) ſpeaks of an Image in *Ahineli* in the ſame *India*, called *Virena*. It ſtood (as he deſcribes it) at the upper-end of a Temple upon a Tribunal, in a dark and ſolemn place. It had many Candles ſet before it in the time of its worſhip. They carried it ſometimes in Proceſſion, under a rich Canopy, with noiſes of Muſick, with Perfumes, and lighted Tapers. There were other inferior Idols ſerving as his Attendants. And they had Diadems

a *Tertull. de Idol.* p. 89. *Sotcris & Baxa deaurantur, &c.* See *Iſai.* 40. 19.

b *Porphyr. de Stat. Brachman. ap. Bardes. Syr.* p. 283. *οἱ δὲ Νῆτα τινὰ ἐκπλαγῆναι, &c.*

c *Vincent le Blanc* in his Travels, *p.* 50.

d *Le Blanc*, p. 125.

e *Della Valle* in his Travels, p. 114, 115.

dems like to thoſe of the Images of Saints at *Rome*, or like to the *Regno* or Pontifical Crown of the Pope. He ſaid it, who was both a *Roman*, and a *Roman* Catholick. And his deſcription of *Virena* puts me in mind of that of the Virgin of *Halla* made by *Lipſius* (*a*): It ſtands aloft, it is lighted with Tapers, it is of ſilver; the Image of Chriſt and of the Twelve Apoſtles are nigh it; an Angel ſtands on either ſide, a ſilver Lamp hangs by. This pomp amuſeth; it is well if it hath not a more Idolatrous effect. The forecited *Della Valle* deſcribes a Carr in *Ikkeri* (*b*), in which the Idols were carried in pompous Proceſſion; the Carr was exceeding high, and ſo very great that ſcarce any but one of the wideſt Streets of *Rome* would (he ſaith) have been capable of receiving it, and giving it paſſage. *Arnobius* obſerveth concerning the Gentiles (*c*), That they deſigned to create Fear by the manner in which they framed the Statues of the Gods. Hence (as he noteth) Sythes and Clubs, and Thunder-bolts were appendages to their Idols. I will end theſe Inſtances with a Diſcourſe of St. *Auſtin*'s in his fourth Epiſtle. "For "Idols, who is there that doubts whether they be "void of all perception? But when they are by an "honourable ſublimeneſs, placed on their Thrones, "and obſerved by them who pray and offer Sacrifice; "thoſe Idols by the likeneſs of animated members, and "of organs of ſenſe (though indeed there be no life "in them) do ſo affect the minds of vveak people, "that they appear to them to live and to breathe: "They do ſo eſpecially through the veneration of the "multitude, vvhilſt ſo pompous and ſo divine a wor-"ſhip is beſtovved on them.

a *Lipſ. Oper.* Tom. 3. pag. 1250, 1251. *Ed. Veſal.* 1675.

b *P. D. Valle*, p. 129.

c *Arnob. contr. Gent.* l. 6. p. 209.

There being then in moſt of ſuch Idols, no divine virtue, but an artificial form and motion; they vvho worſhipped them, whatſoever they intended to worſhip

ſhip in them, were truly ſaid to worſhip them themſelves. This I may illuſtrate by the confeſſion of *Arnobius* who was once himſelf a Pagan Infidel (*a*). "I "worſhipped (ſaid he), Oh my blindneſs! ſuch Gods "as came out of the Smith's Furnace, and ſuch as were "faſhioned by the Hammer and Anvil. I worſhipped "the bones of Elephants: [for they, as *Peireskius* (*b*) noteth, were honoured by miſtake, for thoſe of Giants.] "I adored a ſmooth ſtone, and a Wooden ſta-"tue. I flattered the Image, as if there were a Deity "preſent there: I ſpake to it, I asked benefits of it, "though it perceived nothing.

The Prophets therefore uſed an Argument moſt accommodable to the Gentiles, and tending the moſt ready way to their conviction. For if they vvould not have been moſt ſottiſhly credulous (*c*), if they would not have permitted their fancies to have impoſed upon their underſtandings; if they would but have examined matters of fact with any degree of diligence and impartiality, the generality of them might have known concerning their Images, that they had uſually no more of Inſpiration or Divinity in them, than the ſtones of their ſtreets, or the poſts of their doors (*d*). The Fathers in their Diſputations with the Heathens, do frequently uſe this Argument againſt their Images, and deride them for worſhipping things which can neither help men nor themſelves (*e*). And thence by the way, I take leave to obſerve that if they believ'd the Bread to be Chriſts real natural body, they argued with Inconſiſtence. For then it would have been an obvious retort, that the object which they themſelves worſhipped in the Sacrament could not deliver it ſelf from a contemptible Mouſe.

From the importance of this Diſcourſe, ſome anſwer may be returned to an Argument uſed by the Learned

a *Arnob.* l. 1. p. 22, 23.
b *Gaſſ. in vitâ Peiresk.* l. 2. p. 90. l. 4. p. 151, 152.
c *See* Iſa. 46. 8. *Remember this* [viz. *v.* 7. that Idols can't move, or anſwer,] *and ſhew your ſelves men,* Iſa. 44. 19. *There is no underſtanding to ſay, I have burnt part of it in the fire.*
d *See* Iſa. 46. 1, 2.
e *Arnob.* l. 1. p. 22, 23. *Beneficia poſcebam nihil ſentiente de Truncо.* l. 6. p. 200. *Amentia Deum credere, quem tute ipſe formaris? ſupplicare tremebundum fabricatæ abs te rei?* p. 202. *Non videtis' ſub iſtorum ſimulachrorum cavis*
——*mures*——
habitare?——
in ore—— *ab Aranеis ordiri rетia?*

Learned Mr. *Thorndike* (*a*), who ſuppoſed Idolatry to conſiſt in *Polytheiſm*. He would prove the Calf or Idol of *Samaria* to have been the ultimate object of them who adored it; becauſe in *Amos* (*b*) it is objected to them, *That the Workman made it, and therefore it was not God.* Here the Prophet only uſeth an Argument which appealeth to their own reaſon, and which they might have uſed themſelves, but did not. Judg among your ſelves (ſaid he in effect) whether this Statue thus framed can be a God, what divine power ſoever you think to reſide in it; yet you do by interpretation, make it your God, becauſe you worſhip that which is before you, and there is nothing but the Image it ſelf; nothing in it, no virtue iſſuing from it. Wherefore, notwithſtanding your imagination, which your common reaſon might correct, the thing it ſelf is your Deity or your Idol. And the Prophet does not only argue againſt an Idol as againſt a thing made with hands, but alſo as a Statue which contained in it no more of Cœleſtial influence than a common Image. For he foretelleth in the ſixth verſe, that it was to be broken; and in the fifth, ſeventh, and eighth verſes, he obſerveth, that it could not ſave them from Captivity, but on the other hand, expoſed them to it.

[a] Mr. *Thorndike's Epilogue*, part 3. p. 298.

[b] Amos 8. 6.

PART 9.

Of their Worſhipping Dæmons more than God.

LAſt of all, the Gentiles were Idolaters by juſtling out the Worſhip of the Supreme God, or very much of it, through their officiouſneſs in the ſervice of Inferior Deities. They could not but be guilty if they gave away Gods honour, in whole, or in part. And in part at leaſt, it is certain that they converted it to the uſe of Creatures. God who governeth the World

ought

ought to have received the honour of their devout Prayers, and becoming Sacrifices; and the greateſt part of theſe, and ſometimes the whole of them was offered to Dæmons. For who eſteemeth that Tenant faithful to the honour and intereſt of his Lord, who payeth the greateſt rent to another, and offereth him a pepper-corn, though he hath reſerved the whole propriety, and the very reception to himſelf. Divers Maſters cannot be at the ſame time obſerved with equal duty: and Devotion cannot flow in the ſame plenty, in divers ſtreams, as in one. Therefore when *Tarquinius Priſcus* multiplied Deities, and introduced Statues among the *Romans*, their Religion was immediately much debaſed: when they had many *Jupiters*, and a great croud of other Deities, and every Deity had its Statue, its Altar, its Sacrifice, its Temple; little time was left, and as little zeal for the Worſhip of the God of Heaven and Earth. To him ſome of them ſcarce ever ſaid a Prayer, or offered a Sacrifice. *Porphyry* thought not ſuch ſervices to be agreeable to the Supreme God (*a*), but he concluded that men were to adore him, "Without words, without Sacrifices, in "ſilence, with a pure mind. But this was a Worſhip ſo "abſtracted, that few other Heathens either performed it, or ſo much as underſtood it. Yet ſome might do both. For *Confuſio* the famed Philoſopher of *China* (*b*), acknowledg'd one Supreme God; but he did not ſerve him with Temples, Altars, Prieſts, or Prayers; though by ſuch worſhip he Idolized the Heavens, the Earth, and Man.

Let this then from the Premiſes be the concluſion of the preſent Chapter, that the Gods of the Heathen are Idols and Vanities, and unworthy the ſubmiſſion of any reaſonable creature (*c*).

a See *Porphyr. de Abſtin.* l. 1. Sect. 57. p. 49. & l. 2. Sect. 34. p. 78. And ſee upon his words there, *S. Cyr. Alex. com. Jul.* l. 2. p. 60, 61.

b *Alvarez Simedo in Hiſt. Sin. Par.* 1. c. 18. p. 86.

c Jer. 10. 8. *They are altogether brutiſh, the ſtock is a doctrine of Vanities.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Idolatry of the Jews, *and particularly of their worshipping the Golden Calf. Also of the* Egyptian *Symbol of* Apis, *as at that time not extant. And of the probable Reasons which set up* Moses *as the Original* Apis.

PART I.

Of the Provisions made by God against Idolatry among the Jews.

THE *Israelites* by their Constitution were of all Nations a people the most averse to Idolatry. Their first Commandment prescribeth the Worship of one God. Their second forbiddeth external religious honour to graven Images; which by the exhibition of that honour, whatsoever they were before, become very Idols. Wherefore St. *Cyprian* (*a*) thus renders the sense of the Command, *Thou shalt not make to thy self an Idol.* And the contention about the Translation of *Pesel*, by Graven thing, Idol, or Image, is with respect to the design of *Moses*, an unnecessary Grammar-War. This second Command against the Worship of Images, the *Jews* have esteemed the great Command of all. Their very Moneys have had on the *Obvers* the name of *Moses* inscribed; and on the *Revers*, that second precept or prohibition (*b*). Their third Command, [*Thou shalt not take, or bear in thy mouth* (c) *the name of* Jehovah *thy God in vain*,] may seem also to discountenance Idols, and to forbid all Oaths of promise made

a *De Exhort. Martyr.* c. 1. p. 378. *Non facies tibi Idolum.*

b *Hottinger. in Cipp. Hebraic.* p. 136.

c *Grot. in Decal.* p. 50. *In Hebraeo, non feres, nempe in ore tuo, quod idem est cum illo, non sumes, in os scilicet.*

by them in the name of God, by which they often called their false Deities. It may seem to forbid not so directly the breach of *Neder*, a Vow to the Lord, as *Schefugnah*, (according to the distinction of the *Jews*) (*a*), a Vow by the Lord, or by his Name, when that Name was used in signifying some Idol. I say it may seem so to do; for that it does so, I rather guess than affirm. In this conjecture I am helped by *Tertullian*: That Father discoursing concerning the unlawfulness of naming the Gods of the Gentile-world (*b*), maketh use of this distinction; he teacheth that the bare naming of them is lawful, because it is necessary in Discourse, but he condemneth the naming of them in such manner as if they were really Gods. After this distinction he pursueth the Argument in this manner: "The Law saith (*c*), You shall make "no mention of the names of other gods, neither shall "they be heard out of your mouths. This it comman-"ded, that we should not call them gods. For it saith "in the first part [or Table] of it, *Thou shalt not take* "*up the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, that is, in an "Idol (*d*). He therefore fell into Idolatry who ho-"noured an Idol with the name of God. But if they "must be called gods, I should add something by which "it may appear that I do not own them to be Gods. "For the Scripture it self calls them gods, but then it "addeth [by way of discrimination] *their gods, or the* "*gods of the Nations*. In such manner *David* called "them gods, when he said the gods of the Nations "were Devils——It is a customary wickedness to say, "*Mehercule*.——And it proceeds from the ignorance "of some who know not that they swear by *Hercules*. "Now what is swearing by those whom [in Baptism] "you have forsworn [or renounced] but a corrupting "of the Faith with Idolatry? For who does not ho-"nour

a See *Fagius* on Numb. 30. 3. and see Deut. 20. 10.

b *Tertull. de Idololat.* Sect. 20. p. 97, 98.

c Exod. 23. 13.

d *Id. ib.* —*in vano, id est, in Idolo. Aquila.* [illegible] *vers. Interlin. in vanum.*

"nour those he swears by? To this purpose are those words in *Hosea* (*a*): *Though thou Israel play the Harlot, yet let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Beth-aven,* [or *Bethel,*] *now became a house of iniquity, vanity, or Idolatry,* (*b*), *nor swear the Lord liveth.* That is, seeing they worship the Golden Calves, which are really Idols, though they give to them the name of *Jehovah*, as setting them up for his Symbol; yet use not you that word there, or the form of their oath by *Jehovah*; for thereby you will take up the name of God, and the name by which he is most eminently distinguished, in vain, or in an Idol. Idols are *Elilim*, or vanities: they are very lyes, at once to use the terms the Prophet gives them, and to allude to the *Syriack* Version of the third Command, [*Thou shalt not take up the name of the Lord thy God with a lye.*] He therefore who sweareth by them without distinction, calling them gods, or giving them any names which signifie Divine Power; He that sweareth, or voweth by *Cælum* or *Cælus*, that is, the Heavens; by *Pluto*, or the Earth: such a one does not only dishonour the name of the true God, but he doth also by interpretation forswear himself; for he sweareth by an Idol, lie, or vanity; vowing by its help to perform his Oath, which therefore he cannot by that means perform, because he trusteth to an helpless thing, though by his trust he honoureth it as a Divine Power.

a Hos. 4. 15.

b So the vulg. *Latin* renders *Aven* in *Hosea* 6. 8. *Galaad civitas operantium Idolum.*

See Josh. 23. 7. *Neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear by them, neither serve them, nor bow your selves unto them.* See Jer. 5. 2, 7.

Further, one great end of the fourth Command was the prevention of Idolatry. The seventh day was observed as a Memorial of that one God the Creator of the World, and the God of *Israel*; and they who kept it holy, kept it holy to *Jehovah*, and made profession hereby that they were not Gentiles, who worshipped many Gods, but the seed of *Abraham* who served but one, the God of that Patriarch, and of *Isaac*, and *Jacob*.

"This (ſaith Mr. *Mede*) was the end of the Sabbath
"(*a*), that thereby, as by a *Symbolum*, or ſign, that
"people might teſtifie and profeſs what God they wor-
"ſhipped. He ought, it may be, to have ſpoken this
with limitation, and called it a great end: and that it
was ſuch, is evident from the Text of *Moſes*, than
whom, no man better underſtood the Levitical Oe-
conomy. To him God ſpake (*b*) ſaying, *Speak thou al-
ſo to the children of Iſrael, ſaying, Verily my Sabbaths ye
ſhall keep: for it is a ſign between me and you, throughout
your Generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord
who doth ſanctifie you,* [*or ſet you apart as my Worſhippers,
diſtinct from thoſe who worſhip Idols.*] ——*Wherefore
the children of* Iſrael *ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve the
Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Co-
venant. It is a ſign between me and the children of* Iſrael
*for ever. For in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and
Earth, and on the ſeventh day he reſted* [*or ceaſed*] *and
was refreſhed,* [*or was pleaſed with that exceeding good
and beautiful frame of things, which his Wiſdom, Goodneſs
and Power had made.*]

A like end there was of the Levitical Sacrifices. God needed them not; the Sacrifice of a pure and humble mind was more agreeable to him who is an Intellectual Spirit. But the *Iſraelites* doted on ſuch a groſs manner of expreſſing their devotion. And ſeeing they muſt needs offer Sacrifice, it pleaſed God to give them a Law which might at once indulge them in their inclination, and reſtrain them from ſacrificing unto Idols; whilſt it appropriated that ſervice to God alone, and denied it to Angels and Men. To this purpoſe St. *Cyril* diſcourſeth (*c*), and this is the ſenſe of the words of that Father. "God had no thirſt which was to be quenched
"with blood. He required not of himſelf ſo groſs
"and material a worſhip, but one more ſpiritual, per-
"fected.

a Mr. *Mede's* Diſcourſ. 15. of the Sabbath, p. 73.

b Exod 31. 12, 13, 16, 17.

c S. *Cyril. Alex. contr. Julian.* L. 4. p. 126.

" fected by univerſal virtue. He required a life of ho-
" neſty and integrity, and ſuch as ſhone honourably
" with good works; a right contemplation of the
"Deity, and a true and blameleſs knowledg, and practice
" of that which is really good. But becauſe the feeble
" and earthly minds of the *Iſraelites* could not with-
" out difficulty be brought off from the worſhip and
" ungodly manners, and deteſtable ſuperſtition of the
" *Egyptians*; therefore God by the Pedagogy of the
" *Moſaic* Law, gave them a ſpiritual command againſt
" many Gods, and yet permitted them, after the anci-
" ent manner of the worſhip to which they had been
" accuſtomed, to offer Euchariſtical and Expiatory Ob-
" lations, duly and wiſely appointed, and as types and
" ſhadows of good things to come. ——For the begin-
" nings (*a*) of Sciences are imperfect, and by the gra-
" dual additions of little and little, they arrive at their
" compleat ſtature.

a *Id. ibid.* p. 126, 127.

Touching the whole Law of *Moſes* as Moſaical, *Maimonides* ſaith of it (*b*), " That the principal deſign
" and intention of it was the removal of Idols.

b *Maim. More Nevochim.* par. 3. c. 29. p. 424.

PART 2:

Of the Idolatry of the Jews.

IT appeareth then that God gave the *Jews* ſufficient antidotes againſt Idolatry; and it is as manifeſt that their folly rendred them very often ineffectual. They by their ritual inclination, by cohabitation, by commerce, by apiſh affectation of foreign modes, learned the *Egyptian*, *Aſſyrian*, and *Babylonian* Idolatries. Some of this leaven brake out in the Wilderneſs. There they began to lean towards the worſhip of falſe gods by adoring the true one (as ſhall be ſhewed) in the unmeet Symbol of the Golden Calf. Hence God in his juſt Judgment,

ment, gave ſome of them up to the direct worſhip of
a Act. 7.39,to 43. falſe gods (*a*), beſides the true one, though not wholly without him. They worſhipped *Moloch* (as ſome
Amos 5. 25, 26. think*) by the Tabernacle which the Prieſts took up,
*See *Thorndik.* Epilogue, c.25. p.298. and *Remphan* by a Star, and the Hoſt of Heaven. Amongſt that Hoſt of orderly Lights, ſome have placed the Prototype of *Apis*, and ſuppoſed him to be the Sun. But it ſeemeth abſurd to ſay, that God permitted the people of the *Jews* to fall into the worſhip of the Sun afterwards, becauſe they had worſhipped him already.

At the entrance of the People into *Canaan*, that Generation who had ſeen the hand of God ſo remarkably upon their diſobedient and Idolatrous Forefathers, and who by his Miraculous power and mercy were poſſeſſed of part of the good Land, did in pious manner adhere to him. And when *Joſhuah*, under whoſe wiſe and ſucceſsful conduct they had been brought over *Jordan*, adviſed them at his death, to renounce the Idols of
b Joſh. 24. 14, to 29. their Fathers, and of the *Amorites* (*b*), they with pious earneſtneſs cried out, *God forbid that we ſhould forſake the Lord to ſerve other Gods.* And they ratified this holy reſolution of theirs by a ſolemn Covenant betwixt them and *Joſhuah*.

Joſhuah being dead, and that pious Generation be-
c Judg. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. ing gathered to their Fathers, *There aroſe* (c) *another Generation after them who knew not* [or *owned not*] *the Lord,——but ſerved Baal and Aſhtaroth.* This Idolatrous diſpoſition continued in the people under their
d Judg. 2. 16, 17, 18, 19. Judges (*d*), inſomuch that in the time of *Eli* (*e*) the
e 1 Sam. 4. *Palladium* of *Iſrael*, the Ark of the Covenant, was permitted to fall into the hands of the *Philiſtins*. They were a very terrible enemy to the *Iſraelites* for many years: and in order to the removal of their yoke, and
f 1 Sam. 7. 3, 4. to the regaining the favour of God, *Samuel* (*f*) ſpake unto

unto all the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſaying, *If you do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the ſtrange gods, and Aſhtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and ſerve him only; and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philiſtins. Then the children of Iſrael did put away Baalim* [The Idols of the Sun (*a*),] *and Aſhtaroth*, [in the LXX. ἄλση, the Idols in the Groves of *Aſtarte*, or the Earth] *and ſerved the Lord only.* Such Piety of *Samuel* their Judg, and of *David* their King, and of *Solomon* alſo in the former part of his Reign, together with Gods Preſence in that Magnificent Temple built by him, did much promote the true Religion, and ſtop the growth of Idolatrous worſhip. But at length *Solomon* himſelf gave them an unhappy Example of it in his own perſon, being ſeduced to Idols by the charms and ſoftneſſes of his many Heathen Women (*b*). So fatal an evil is Luſt to the beſt Underſtandings, which whenſoever it poſſeſſeth them, it perfectly beſotteth, and reigneth over them with uncontrouled power. This Impiety was manifeſt in *Solomon* about the thirtieth year of his Reign, as Chronologers commonly account. But the more ſecret beginning of his defection is by *Joſephus* and other *Jews* dated from the Images of Oxen made at his command, as ſupporters of the Brazen Sea (*c*). It is the common opinion of the *Arabians*, and particularly of *Abulfarajus* (*d*), that *Solomon* died in his Sin without Repentance. Of that God is judg. It is more certain that before he died, he perſiſted in it notwithſtanding a repeated appearance of Gods *Shechinah* (*e*), and that God was highly diſpleaſed with him, and threatned to rend the Kingdom from him after his death. Of that Rent the Inſtrument was *Jeroboam*, by whoſe means one Kingdom became divided into two, rather Factions than Kingdoms, thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael*. In the latter

a See *Grotius* on Judg. 2. 13. p. 2002. *ep. crit. maj.*

b 1 King. 11. 1, to 8.

c 1 King. 7. 25.

d *Abulfarajus*, p. 54. *Mortuus eſt* [Solomon] *ſine pœnitentiâ.*

e 1 King. 11. 9, 10, 11, 12.

latter *Jeroboam* ſet up two Golden Calves which the people worſhipped at *Dan* and *Bethel*; he being jealous (*a*) that if they ſacrificed at *Jeruſalem*, they would return to their Allegiance due to the King of *Judah*. For this and other ſins God ſuffered the Ten Tribes to be for ever led captive. *Judah* alſo polluted it ſelf with Idolatry. It began under *Rehoboam* after his three good years of Government, and came to its height under *Athaliah*, *Ahaz*, and *Manaſſeh* (*b*); and at length *Judah* likewiſe was carried into Captivity. After her return from Captivity under the favour of *Cyrus*, many of the *Jews* were more faithful to the true God, being ſenſible that for their ſerving of Idols he had caſt them out of his moſt ſafe Protection; and the Statue of *Moſes* on an Aſs, found by *Antiochus* in the Holieſt, is one of the Tales of *Diodorus**. Yet after this great deliverance, divers of them relapſed, through that perſecution againſt them, and that toleration of all Gentiliſm in *Judea*, of which *Antiochus Epiphanes* was the Author (*c*). He ſet up the *abomination of Deſolation*, the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, on the Altar of God; an Idol apt to move the pious *Jews* to forſake the City, and to leave it deſolate. *Many of the Iſraelites* (*d*) [either through fear, or vain inclination] *conſented to his Religion*, τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτῶν, (as the Seventy) *to his worſhip*; *and they ſacrificed to Idols, and profaned the Sabbath. But* ſome (e) *choſe rather to ſacrifice their own lives than to offer to Idols.* The *Samaritans* of all others were under this Tyrant the moſt diſloyal to God; they ſend Letters of flattery to this impious Monſter, of which *Joſephus* in the Twelfth Book, and ſeventh Chapter of his *Antiquities*, hath given us a Copy. They inſcribe them, Ἀντιόχῳ Θεῷ Ἐπιφανεῖ, *to Antiochus the illuſtrious God.* They feign themſelves to be the off-ſpring of the *Sidonians* and *Perſians*, that they may not be taken for

a 1 King. 12. 27.

b 2 Chron. 33. 3, to 7.

* *Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 1150. *de Statuâ Moſis Aſino inſidentis. undè Judæi (forte) dicti Aſinarii.*

c See 1 Mac. 1.

d 1 Mach. 1. 43.

e Verſ. 60, 61, 62, 63.

Jews,

Jews, whom he hated. They conſecrate a Temple on Mount *Gerazim*, to the *Jupiter* of *Greece*, and by ſuch vile arts they inſinuate themſelves into the favour of *Antiochus*, who commandeth that they be eſteemed, and uſed as *Grecians*. And yet a while after under *Ptolomæus Philometor*, they abhor Idols, and contend with the *Jews* themſelves about the ſanctity of their Temple, which they preferred before that of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf. The *Jews* by this means, and by former commerce with *Grecians*, in divers of their Cities and Colonies, and particularly in their own *Jeruſalem*, [which *Alexander* himſelf is ſaid to have viſited;] and in *Alexandria*, [where the *Ptolomies* had advanced the Worſhip of *Greece*, and in which *Philo* in his time numbered exceeding many *Jews* (*a*);] became leavened with the *Grecian* Demonology (*b*). This *Thales* learnt in *Egypt*, and he enlarged and propagated it in the Regions of *Greece*. I cannot accuſe the *Jews* of erecting Statues, or of offering ſolemn Prayers, or Sacrifices to them. Yet all who mark that Tranſlation of the Seventy which is commonly in mens hands, may charge at leaſt the *Helleniſtick Jews*, with a falſe and dangerous eſtimation of Dæmons; with an eſtimation of them as Preſidents and Tutelar Spirits, who under God did govern the World. He that runs may read thus much in their Verſion of the eighth verſe of the thirty-ſecond of *Deuteronomy*: *When the moſt High divided the Nations* (c), *when he ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he ſet the bounds of the People* [κατ' ἀριθμὸν Ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ,] *according to the number* [not of the Children of *Iſrael*, as the *Hebrew* Copy readeth it, but according to the number] *of the Angels of God*; who (they ſay) were ſeventy, and whom they call the *Sanedrim* above. Such Angels many *Jews* imagined to have their Thrones in ſeveral Stars, whilſt their footſtools, or inferior places of Gover-

a *Philo Jud. in Flaccum*, p. 971, 972, &c.

b See *Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 1154. affirming concerning the *Jews*, that by reaſon of the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* Victories, they ſuffered many alterations, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων νομίμων.

c Deut. 32. 8. See *R. Sal. Franco*, p. 3.

vernment were in ſeveral parts of the Earth. Hence *Aben Ezra* ſaith (*a*), that it appeared by Experiments [he meaneth ſure miraculous effects ſucceeding the worſhip of Patrons of Places,] that every Nation and every City hath its particular Planet to which it is ſubject. But he excepteth the people of *Iſrael*, who being ſubject only to the Government of God, had it ſeems no Planet for their Superintendent. Alſo with alluſion to the Government of the Nations by Angels in Stars and Conſtellations, and not by immediate Providence, the *Jews* (*b*) in their Liturgy give to God the name of the King of the Kings of Kings; that is, the King of thoſe Angelical Powers who rule over the Potentates on Earth. This belief of the *Helleniſts* containeth in it a twofold error: That of the Lieutenancy of Angels, and that of the Innocency of thoſe Spirits which Chriſtianity calleth Dæmons, in the moſt infamous ſignification of that name. This double error is found in one paſſage of *Joſephus*, who recordeth it as one of the Precepts of *Moſes*, [of *Thales*, he might have ſaid more truly,] "That one Citizen ought not to blaſ-"pheme thoſe Heavenly Powers (*c*) which other Ci-"ties have in eſteem as Gods.

a See *Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, in Quæſt. 2. in Deut. p. 222.

b *R. Sal. Franc.* p. 2, 3.

c Μηδεὶς βλασφημείτω τὰς ἄλλοις πόλεσι νομιζομένους θεούς.

The *Jews* after the coming of the Meſſiah, had beſides the motives of their Religion, Political Reaſons againſt Images or Idols. For they have been forced by a juſt vengeance purſuing ſuch bloody murtherers, to live diſperſedly under both Chriſtian and *Mahometan* Power. And in Dominions of both kinds the Worſhip of Graven Idols, (beſides that their zeal againſt them, and for their Sabbath was inſtrumental, as the charracter of a Party, to keep them ſtill in ſome ſort of body), would have much obſtructed their Toleration. The *Mahometans* would have been, from the other extreme, averſe to them; their Law forbidding all Sta-

tues

tues and graven or painted Images. In pursuance of this Law, their zeal defaced the *Grecian* and *Roman* Coins, which had upon them the Image of their Emperours. It did so formerly, but since that time it is so much cool'd, that they do not believe the Coin profaned by the Superscription. Nay, they prefer the *Venetian* Ducats which have Images upon them, before their own *Sultanies* which have none, but are stamped according to the will of their Prophet (*a*). But so it is often seen, that the principle of Avarice becomes much stronger than that of false Religion.

a See *Leunclav. Pand. Hist. Turcic.* p. 139.

In the days of *Julian* the *Jews* were noted amongst the Gentiles as the Worshippers of one God; and, whatsoever their opinion was concerning Angels, they were not observed for any external worship with which they honoured them. That Apostate maketh this difference betwixt the *Jews* and the Gentiles of his Age; that the Gentiles (*b*) worshipped many Gods [or Dæmons,] but the *Jews* one God only. And those unbelievers pretend, at this day, to the strictest observance of the second Command.

b *Julian. ep.* Or. 1. p. 305.

It may be here taken a little notice of, how the *Jews* have been often accused by the Gentiles, and amongst them by *Juvenal*, *Petronius*, and *Strabo*, as Worshippers of the Clouds. If this reproach had been cast upon that Religion whilst the Ark remained in the most holy place, I should have thought it occasioned by that miraculous Cloud which shadowed the Mercy-seat, and towards which the high-Priest did make his obeisance. But the scandal cannot be traced (so far as my knowledg leads me) beyond the days of *Augustus*. Mr. *Selden* (*c*) once guessed that this reproach might arise from a mistake of the Idiom of the *Jews*, who called the Majesty of God, Heaven (*d*). This Idiom Christ useth, whilst he demandeth concerning the Baptism of *John*, Whe-

c *Seld. de Diis Syris, Synt.* 2. c. 17. p. 370, 371.

d *Rabbin. Prov. ap. H. Othon. Lex. c. Rabbin. in Judic.* S. 8. *in* Joh. 20. 4. *Omnia ad Cælum*, i.e. *Omnia ad Gloriam Dei.*

Whether it was of Heaven or of Men; of Divine or Humane Authority. Afterwards he was induced to think that the Slanderers of the *Jews* miſtook them for the *Gnoſticks*, who made ſo much noiſe about their Heavens and Æons. At laſt he rejected the accuſation with ſcorn, and placed it amongſt ſuch groundleſs and extravagant forgeries as that of their worſhipping an Aſs, with which malicious ignorance had traduced them.

But it is not my purpoſe to write an entire Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Worſhip, or to tell how often they ſerved one God, and how often they worſhipped many. I will only inſiſt on one Inſtance, That *Peccatum Maximum* (as the Vulgar (*a*) *Latine* calls it) their greateſt ſin; to wit, their Idolatry committed with the Golden Calf. It is an inſtance which themſelves take eſpecial notice of, thinking that in every Judgment ſent to them by God (*b*), there is, as they ſpeak, an ounce of that Idol; and it is a ſubject which hath occaſioned a Controverſie betwixt the *Papiſts* and the Reformed.

a Exod. 32. 21, 30, 31.

b See *Moſes Gerund. ap. Stld. Synt. de Diis Syris, C. de vit. Ant.* p. 155.

PART 3.

Of the Worſhip of the Golden Calf.

THE Golden Calf was, either the ultimate Object of the peoples Worſhip, or a Symbol of ſome Deity which they finally honoured. Cardinal *Cajetan* in his Commentary on *Exodus*, ſuppoſeth the former, and thinketh them to ſpeak properly in that form which they uſed, *Theſe are thy Gods* [or *this* (c) *is thy God*] *who brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* As if thoſe Worſhippers, though ſufficiently brutiſh, were as ſtupid as the very Idol it ſelf: As if they could believe that their deliverance was miraculously wrought for them, by a Statue which they ſaw formed after the time that they were delivered. Wherefore Cardinal *Bellar-*

c Nehem. 9. 18.

Bellarmine contendeth, that the speech hath a Figure in it, and that the Calf was a Symbol of a Deity, yet not of the true God, but of the Idol *Apis* which they had seen honoured with singular reverence in *Egypt*. That it was not the ultimate Object, but a Symbol or Image, is suggested by *Tertullian* (*a*), who calleth it, *Simulachrum Vituli*, not a God, but the Image or Idol of the Calf. Neither ought it to be dissembled that *Philo* (*b*), *Lactantius* (*c*), and St. *Hierom* (*d*), believe the Calf to have been the Statue of *Apis*.

To the great name of *Bellarmine* I oppose that of *Tostatus*, who (*e*) affirmeth those words of the people, [*These are thy gods*,] to carry this sense with them: "O *Israel*, God who was without Body, and unseen, "and who brought thee out of *Egypt*, and gave thee "a passage through the Red Sea, is he whom thou "now seest; that is, his Divine virtue resideth in that "Golden body. Nay, I may oppose to *Bellarmine* the greater Authority of the Council of *Trent*: the Catechism set forth by order of that Council, doth teach (though not directly yet by consequence), that the Calf of *Aaron* was a Symbol of *Jehovah*, seeing it owneth the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel* to have been worshipped as his Statues. Now this latter it acknowledgeth, because it owneth them in *Israel*, who halted betwixt God and *Baal* (as also the *Samaritans*) to have been divided betwixt the true God and false Deities or Idols (*f*). What Deities then were the extreams betwixt which these unstable and giddy *Israelites* did visibly stagger? Did not they stagger betwixt the new Religion of *Baal* (*g*), learned from the *Zidonians*? and the more ancient and less corrupt, (*h*) yet too much depraved one of the God of *Israel*, who (as appeareth by his Name (*i*) and Rites (*k*) used there) was worshipped by those Symbols taken without Divine

a *Tertull. de Idol.* Sect. 3. p. 87.
b *Philo Jud. de vitâ Mosis.* l. 3. p. 677. C.—ζηλωταὶ τῶν αἰγυπτιακῶν, &c.
c *Lactant.* l. 4. c. 10. *de Vera Sap.* p. 376.
d *S. Hieron. in Hos.* c. 4. v. 15. Tom. 6. p. 20. D.
e *Tostat. in Exod.* c. 32. *Quæst.* 7.
f *Catech. Concil. Trident. in* 1. *Præc. Decal.* p. 388.——*Inter*——*Hebræos, permulti fuerunt, qui, ut Helias iis objiciebat, in duas partes claudicabant: Quod & Samaritæ fecerunt, quī Deum Israelis & Deos Gentium colebant.*
g 1 King. 16. 31, 32.
h V. 30. *Ahab did evil above all before him.* V. 31. *He outsix'd Jeroboam.*
i Hos. 4. 15.
k Amos 4. 4, 5.

vine allowance, from the *Cherubim* on the Ark which were only Appendages of the *Shechinah*, and not intermediate Objects of the *High Prieſts Reverence*. If theſe Symbols had not been uſed as the *Shechinah* of the true God, *Jeroboam* would not have been ſo ſeverely blamed for making the loweſt of the people Prieſts of the high Places; for the vileſt and meaneſt people, the lees and dreggs of the world had been the fitteſt inſtruments in the ſervice of Idols. Like Deity, like Worſhippers. Now to this Worſhip at *Dan* and *Bethel* *Jeroboam* was moved by his Political intereſt, which made it neceſſary for him to continue the Schiſm, not by dividing the *Iſraelites* from their God, whom they would not wholly renounce, but by ſetting apart diſtinct places and Symbols of his eſpecial preſence. There were in *Iſrael* ſecret Worſhippers of God, after a right negative manner, no leſs than ſeven thouſand, who ſerved God only. But ſuch as theſe were not viſible to the Prophet who bemoaneth himſelf, as if the Church [the Church of *Iſrael*] was confined to his own perſon. He therefore meaneth not by his halters ſuch as ſometimes worſhipped the true God in holier manner than *Jeroboam* preſcribed, and ſometimes *Baal*, [a name common both to the new and old Idols (*a*)]: For them he could not openly upbraid of whom he had no knowledg. His meaning *Jehu* expoundeth when (*b*) he oppoſeth the Prieſts of *Baal* to the ſervants of the Lord: For what other ſervants than the Prieſts of *Jeroboam* did then publickly officiate in *Iſrael*? For *Ahab* ſucceeded his Father *Omri* who had eſtabliſhed the Vanities or Idols (*c*) of the Calves, and ſinned beyond *Jeroboam* himſelf (*d*). And *Ahab* was ſo far from reſtoring Gods pure Worſhip, that he outwent his Father *Omri* in encouraging that which was falſe and degenerate. So properly may the *Ætas Parentum* in *Horace*, be here applied.

a Hoſ. 13. 1,2. Tobit. 1. 5. 1 King. 19.18. compar. with Rom. 11.4. τῇ βάαλ, that is, (as Mr. *Thornd.* in Epil. Part. 3. p. 299.) τῇ Ἁμάαν βάαλ; or, it may be, τῇ οἰκίᾳ, or τῇ μορφῇ Βάαλ.

b 2 King. 10. 23.

c 1 King. 16. 26.

d Verſ. 25.

Againſt

Against the Authorities of *Philo*, *Lactantius*, and S. *Hierom* before-cited, I put into the ballance the words of *Aaron*. *Aaron* called the Idolatrous Festival, a Feast to *Jehovah*, making use (as *Micah* (*a*) did afterwards) of the most Revered name of God. I argue not here from the bare imposition of that word, for Idolaters did learn to give to Creatures that *incommunicable Name* (*b*). But I argue from the reverence which is due to *Aaron* the select high Priest of the God of *Israel*. He offendeth extremely against charity and good manners, who thinketh of such a person, that he would pacifie a clamorous people with so vile a condescension. He had a better *design*, howsoever the madness of the people perverted it. It cannot be thought that the God whom he served in so Sacred an Office, should be so soon forgotten by him, and so ungratefully and wretchedly dishonoured in a base *Egyptian* Idol, passing under the most separate name of *Jehovah*. It was ill enough that he set up a Symbol of Gods presence where he had not appointed him (*c*). It was a crime sufficiently high that he had erected an undue Statue, or an arbitrarious external sign of Gods presence, though not an Image of him; for such the Cherubims were not. For I suppose he took his Pattern from part of what he saw in the Holy Mount, when the *Shechinah* of God came down upon it, attended with Angels. Of them some were Cherubims, or Angels appearing with the Faces of Oxen; as I afterwards shew (*d*). Now it was a great presumption to worship God in any other, than in his proper and allowed Symbol, (as rightly (*e*) *Altisiodorus*) though it happened to be a Cherub, and not *Apis*. The Sacrifices offered in the Worship of the Calf were not agreeable to any *Egyptian* Idol. For amongst them at that time the blood of a Bull was as great an abomination as was the blood of a Swine to the *Hebrews*.

a Judg. 17. 3.

b Wisd. 14. 21. *Men serving either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks, the Incommunicable name.*

c Deut. 12. 13. *Take heed to thy self that thou offerest not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest.*

d In Chap. 14.

e *Altisi. Sum.* l. 1. c. 15. *Non in quolibet signo adorandus est Deus, sed in proprio; sicut Moyses adoravit Deum in Rubo in quo loquebatur ei, &c. & Abraham in Angelo: unde non est adorandus in lapide, esset enim idololatria, de non proprio signo Dei facere proprium.*

At

At that time I say, for after the *Macedonian* Conquest (*a*), the Idol *Apis* it self had in the Suburbs beasts solemnly offered in Sacrifice to it. Also before those times all the *Egyptians* sacrificed clean and male Bullocks, if *Herodotus* (*b*) be an Author of credit. And it appeareth by the History of *Elijah* that Beasts were offered upon the Altars of the *Zidonian* (*c*) *Baal*, or Sun, from whom they had expectation of an answer by fire. But he was either asleep at that time, with his eye closed by the air, then in disposition for clouds, or in his journey of Diurnal motion, and did not, or rather could not mind their Sacrifice. However in those early times, and with reference to *Egypt* (*d*), the Sacrifices of Oxen which the people offered at the Golden Calf, do prove it to be something else than the Symbol of *Apis*: unless a man would say that they honoured old Idols with their new Rites, as afterwards they did, worshipping *Moloch* (*e*) with the Rites of the Tabernacle of *Jehovah*. They did not, as I think, dethrone God, but joined that false God with him, and corrupted true Religion with mixtures of Gentilism.

a *Secundum Horum ap. Macrob. Saturn.* l. 1. c. 7. p. 215.
b *Herod. Euterpe.* p. 117, 118.
c 1 King. 18. 22, 23, &c.
d Exod. 8. 25, 26.
e Act. 7. 42, 43.

PART 4.

Of the Idol Apis.

Apis the living Ox, was an Idol of ancient standing; for the *Grecians* who lived before the times of *Alexander* (*f*) make mention of it. *Herodotus* is one of them; and he recordeth the Slaughter of *Apis* by *Cambyses*, who was the second Monarch of *Persia*. He likewise introduceth the *Egyptians* alledging the Festivity of the Appearance of *Apis* as an ancient Holiday (*g*). They professed it to be a custom, that they might appease that vehement passion which a mistake had raised in him. For when he found them rejoycing

f *Herod. in Thal.* p. 195, 196.
g *Herod. ibid.* —διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἑωθὼς ὀπηφαίνεσθαι.

joycing at the Appearance of *Apis*, he imagined them triumphing at that defeat of his Forces which he had newly ſuſtained. By this it is plain, that the Idol *Apis* was ancient, but to me it ſeemeth not to have exiſted at all as ſuch before the death of *Moſes*.

And this I here deſign to ſhew by reaſons allowable in Philological matters, though I have not the vanity to call them infallible Proofs. If this can be done, the Controverſie will of it ſelf fall to the ground, ſeeing the very ſubject of it will be removed.

There are few ſtories more uncertain than the Antiquities of *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, of which Kingdoms the former ſeemeth to be the more ancient (*a*) by about forty years: And all that is ſaid of either of them beyond the days of *Phaleg*, is vanity and impoſture. Their vain and ignorant Prieſts, and men not much unlike them, the Mythologers of *Greece*, have ſet the Accounts of time backward and forward, and given feigned Pedigrees both to their Gods and their Princes. And they have ſo confounded Fable and Hiſtory, that both have been ſwallowed by many without diſtinction. This confuſion hath hapned in nothing more than in their Hiſtorical Theology; and I think the ſtory of the Idol *Apis* may ſerve as a conſiderable example of it. *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, all make different deſcriptions of it: And the Image of that Idol in the Table of *Iſis* does ſtill differ from each Character in thoſe Writers (*b*). In all things I ſhall not be able at this diſtance of time, to ſeparate falſhood from Truth. But in the point of its Antiquity I do not deſpair of proving its common date to be fictitious.

(*a*) See *If. Voſſ. de Æt. Mundi.* p. 41.

(*b*) See *Pignor. de ment. Iſiac.* p. 36, 37.

Before the deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, Oxen were very ſacred among the *Egyptians* (*c*). But they were then, if I miſtake not, no otherwiſe ſacred than

(*c*) Exod. 8. 25, 26.

many Creatures were afterward among the *Pythagoreans* (*a*), and are at this day among the *Brachmans* of *India*. That is, they were not touched with violent hand, or weapon: They were not uſed for Food, or offered in Sacrifice. Hence *Strabo* ſpeaking of *Apis* at *Memphis* (*b*), and *Mnevis* at *Heliopolis* [in times much nigher to us], does ſay of thoſe Idols that they were reputed Deities, whilſt the Oxen in other places were held as ſacred Creatures, but not as gods (*c*). Whether they were eſteemed ſacred Animals in memory of *Joſeph*, or from their uſe in Tillage (*d*), or for ſome deeper reaſon, I pretend not to tell: for, it ſeems, themſelves could not agree about the original of their Superſtitions (*e*). Sacred then they were in ſome ſenſe, before *Moſes* became a Law-giver to *Iſrael*. But that there was any one Ox ſelected ſo early as an object of Religious worſhip, is an opinion taken up without ground from Hiſtory. My eyes at leaſt have not been able to eſpie ſo much as an imperfect footſtep of it. Had ſuch an Idol exiſted, and been imitated alſo by the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, St. *Stephen* in his Epitome of their Hiſtory, and particularly in that part of it wherein he remembreth their Idolatry with the Calf, could as eaſily have upbraided them with the falſe Deity *Apis*, as he did with thoſe (*f*) of *Moloch* and *Rempham*.

The Learned Mr. *Selden*, who referreth the Golden Calf to the *Egyptian* Pattern, does two ways endeavour to obviate this Objection againſt the Antiquity of *Apis* (*g*).

Firſt, He contendeth that this Worſhip of *Apis* or *Oſiris* is ſufficiently ancient, becauſe it terminateth in the Sun, which was reputed a Divine Power at the very birth of Idolatry. Now this reaſon, if it proveth any thing, it proveth too much; much more than Mr. *Selden*

a Hence the Symbol of ζῶων ἀπέχεσθαι is interpreted of not killing or not ſacrificing Animals.

b *Strabo* l. 17. *Geogr.* p. 803.

c See *Vattier's* Pref. to *Muſladi's Prod.* of *Egypt*, p. 25, 26.

d *Ovid.* l. 4. *Faſt. Bos aret, ignavam ſacrificate ſuem.*

e *Strab.* l. 17. *Geogr.* p. 813. ——Τὰς δ' αἰτίας ἴσως ἐμυθολογημένας λέγουσιν.

f Act. 7. 41, 43.

g Seld. *de Diis Syris. Synt.* 1. c. 4. *de vit. Aur.* p. 150.

Selden himſelf will own as truth. For from hence it will follow, both that the Idolatry of *Egypt* was as ancient as that of *Babylon*, and that the whole almoſt of the *Egyptian* Idolatry, which was exceeding various, commenced at the ſame time. There was ſcarce any Idol ſet up there, but in one reſpect or other it was referred to that glorious body. It ſcarce ſhined upon any thing, which was not at ſome time or other conſecrated to it. The Lion, the Hart, the Hare, the Eagle, the Hawk, the Crow, the Cock, the Gooſe, the Upupa; the Pine-Tree, the *Nile*; all theſe, and many others were ſacred to the *Sun*, as may to thoſe, who care not to turn the leaves of many Authors, appear compendiouſly in the *Harpocrates* of *Cuperus* (*a*). Yet theſe Idols were erected upon divers occaſions, and as the humor at divers times poſſeſſed fanciful and ſuperſtitious men.

Secondly, Mr. *Selden* (*b*) produceth in favour of the Antiquity of the Idol *Apis*, the Teſtimony of *Euſebius*. *Euſebius* (he ſays) affirmeth of *Apis*, that in the days of King *Aſeth*, a Calf was deified and called by that name. And for King *Aſeth*, Mr. *Selden* ſuppoſeth him to have reign'd in *Egypt* in the days of *Iſaac*.

But he hath gained little ſtrength to his Cauſe, by producing a witneſs who contradicteth himſelf. For *Euſeb.* elſewhere (*c*) relates that *Apis* and *Mnevis* were deified under *Choos*, who is ſaid to have reigned in the 2*d.* Dynaſtie after the Flood. For this he citeth *Manetho* a *Greciſing* Fabler, who diſagreeth with *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, and fetcheth his Relation from pretended Pillars, uncertain both for the place, and the Inſcriptions of them. Little credit is given by the Judicious to his Dynaſties. He maketh in them contemporary perſons to ſucceed each other; he maketh many Kings out of the ſeveral deputies of one. He maketh *Egypt* no ancient Monarchy, as the Scripture doth. For at the ſame

a *Cuperi Harpocr.* P. 14, 16, 21, 27, 43, 44, 45, 55, 60, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95.

b *Seld. Ibid. de Aur. vit.* P. 153.

c *Seld. Ibid.* P. 154. *Imò in Sec. poſt Catacly. Dyn. ſub Choo Rege, Apin & Mnevin & Mendeſium Capram, in Deos relatos, ex Manethone Sacerdote tradit* [Euſebius].

time that *Menis* reigned at *Thebes*, he setteth up *Saïtes* as a King over other parts of *Egypt* (*a*). It must indeed be granted, that though *Eusebius* contradicteth himself in assigning the particular time; yet it serveth the purpose of Mr. *Selden*, that in both instances he referreth to time ancient enough. He doth so in those Places. But in others which Mr. *Selden* hath not cited, he setteth a more modern date to the Apotheôsis of *Apis*. In his Book of Evangelical Preparation (*b*), he ascribeth to *Chenephren* King of *Egypt*, both the Deification of their Ox, and the imposition of the name of *Apis*. He addeth, that thenceforth the people erected a Temple to that Idol. Now he maketh this King *Kenephren* Contemporary with *Moses*, and one who reverenced his person, and received from him the rite of Circumcision. All this *Eusebius* has taken from *Artapanus* in his History of the *Jews*. For *Artapanus* I cannot say much in confirmation of his fidelity. Yet I think him of weight enough to be put into the scale against *Manetho* the *Sebennite*, a writer so absurdly confident in his Fictions, that he maketh *Menis* equal to *Adam* (*c*). The same *Eusebius* in his *Cronicon*, sets down *Epaphus*, or *Apis* as born in the Reign of *Chencres*, that is, of the abovesaid *Chenephren*, as may be conjectured both from the affinity of the names, and the agreement of the time. For he reporteth of *Chencres* (called also Θεόμαχος, or the Rebel against Almighty God) that he perished in the Red Sea. He was therefore Contemporary with *Moses*, and no other than that *Pharoah* who bade defiance to the God of *Israel*, and fell as a Sacrifice to his Omnipotent Justice. That he was *born* in the Reign of *Chencres*, if it respecteth the Natural birth of *Moses*, is a mistake, yet such a one as is common in ancient Chronology, which is not exact to a day or a year; for he was about fourscore years old at his going forth from *Egypt*,

a *Scalig. ap. Voss.* l. 1. *de Idol.* c. 28. p. 109. *Ex hâc Dyn. patet, diversos Reges, eod. temp. in Æg. divers. partib. Imperium obtinuisse. Nam quando Saïtes primus Dyn.* 15. *ex Latrunc. Pastor. circa Bucolia Æg. jam dec. Ann. regnabat in part. Theb. Regn. inivit Menes Thebanus.*

b *Eus. de præp. Evang.* l. 9. ch. 27. p. 433.

c See *Is. Voss. de Æt. mundi.* p. 36.

Egypt: but the time of his Civil birth may be then accounted when he began to head the *Iſraelites*, and to ſay to *Pharoah*, *Let the people go that they may ſerve their God.* Then God ſaid to him in effect, Thou art my Son, a Prince and Lieutenant under me; this day have I begotten thee, or created thee a Ruler.

If then the perſon repreſented by an Ox was not more ancient than the deliverance by *Moſes*, much leſs was the Golden *Apis* extant in *Egypt* at that time of his departure. Yet Mr. *Selden* will have this Golden Ox (*a*) to be the Pattern of the Idolatrous *Iſraelites*, and not the living Beaſt. It is true, that *Plutarch* (*b*) mentioneth a Golden Ox, and telleth how for four days together it was expoſed with great ſolemnity, during the diſappearance of *Apis*, or, as he expoundeth it, at the decreaſe of *Oſiris*, or the *Nile*. And in *Pliny* we read of a Golden Cat (*c*) worſhipped by the Citizens of *Rhadata* in *Egypt*. I doubt not but that ſuch a Golden Image was extant, many years before *Plutarch* wrote of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*. He is a grave Author, and a man of ſingular skill in the more modern affairs of *Egypt*. But it is not ſhewn by him, or by any other Hiſtorian, that ſuch a Statue was framed at the beginning of the worſhip of that Idol. Of this *Herodotus*, the Father of Secular Hiſtory, taketh no notice, though he had juſt occaſion ſo to do in his Diſcourſe of the diſappearance of *Apis*, if any ſuch thing had been then in being (*d*). Alſo in his deſcription of the Palace ſaid to be built for *Apis* by *Pſammitichus* (*e*), he drops not a word concerning any ſuch Golden Calf, though he mentioneth divers Types [Hieroglyphical, or Ornamental Figures] with which that Palace abounded. Nay *Lucian* denieth that any Figures or Statues had place in the ancient Temples of *Egypt* (*f*).

a *Seld. de vit. Auct. in Syn.* 1. c. 4. p. 141.

b *Plutarc. de Iſ. & Oſyr.* p. 366. D.

c *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. 6. c. 29. p. 144. 22.

d *Herod. in Thaliâ.* p. 195.

e *Id. in Euterp.* p. 169.

f *Lucian. de Dâ Syr.* p. 1057.

PART.

PART 5.

Of the Originals of Apis *and* Serapis.

THE Objections of Mr. *Selden* being thus removed out of my way, I proceed in inquiring after the true and original *Apis*. *Apis* was not ultimately the living Ox, but ſome Deifi'd Perſon, of whom the Ox was the Symbol; or (as *Diodorus* (*a*) reporteth) the Receptacle into which his ſoul paſſed in its tranſmigration. That he was a man all Writers agree, unleſs they be of the ſtrain of *Porphyry* (*b*). He was unwilling to own ſo mean and diſhonourable a thing of his Heathen Gods, as to acknowledg them to have been dead men; wherefore he would needs perſwade the world that *Apis* was ſacred to the *Moon* only. This he would infer from the white ſpot on the right ſide of *Apis*, in the form of the *Moon*. That Mark indeed is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*; but in more ancient times the Ox had no ſuch Character on him. *Herodotus* is accurate in his deſcription, and he omitteth not his minute marks, of which this of the *Moon* is none. "The Bullock (ſaith he) called *Apis* (*c*) "hath theſe ſigns: In its body it is all black, [for "μέγας in the Text of *Herodotus* is miſtaken for μέλας:] "on its Forehead it hath a white ſpot of a four-ſquare "figure; on its back it hath the Image of an Eagle; "on its tongue a Scarabee, and two hairs on its Tail. The Superſtition of after-times encreaſed his Hieroglyphical Marks. To the *Sun* or *Moon* this Ox might be ſacred, and alſo to ſome departed Hero, or Heroeſs, for ſo were the Idols of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*. But Hiſtorians are not agreed about the Hero called *Apis*. Each of them almoſt has a ſeveral conjecture.

Suidas [in the word Σάραπις] ſuppoſeth him to have been

g *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. *Bibl. Hiſtor.* c. 85. p. 74.

b *Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang.* l. 3. c. 13. p. 117.

c *Herod.* l. 3. p. 195. C. D.

been a King of *Egypt*, bearing that name of *Apis*, and to have obtained after death Divine honour, for his Liberality to the Citizens of *Alexandria*, whom he ſupplied with Corn in time of Famine. The like confuſion of *Apis* and *Serapis* is found in *Ruffinus* (*a*). He mentioneth the Famine at *Alexandria*, and the ſupply by *Apis*. But concerning him he knows not whether he were a King of *Egypt*, or a Father of a leſſer Family at *Memphis*. Of this *Apis*, whoever he was, he reporteth further out of an uncertain Gentile Hiſtorian, that he had a Temple at *Memphis* built in honour of him: Alſo that within the Temple an Ox (the Symbol of a good Husbandman) was preſerved, and honoured divinely by the name of *Apis*. The name of *Serapis* joined with that of *Apis* in *Suidas*, and that City of *Alexandria* mentioned by both of them, do plainly ſhew whence this Fable came, from modern *Greece*, not from ancient *Egypt*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* knew no ſuch King of *Egypt* as *Apis*; neither is there any ſuch Royal name before the days of *Moyſes*, in the Chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, or *Manetho*; though the latter had ſet it down, time enough, for the name of an Idol. It is true, that in *Syncellus* the ſeventh King of the Inferiour *Egypt* is called *Serapis*. But the Judicious Reader of *Syncellus* will have little regard to him in this point; both becauſe he findeth the third King in his Catalogue ſet down by the late, and plainly *Greek* name of *Ariſtarchus*; and becauſe he cannot but know that *Serapis* came very late out of *Greece* to *Alexandria*. As he was originally a *Grecian* Deity he was no other than *Pluto*, of whom the three-headed *Cerberus* was the Emblem; he having dominion (an Empire given him by their fancy) over the Water, groſs Air, and Earth, though principally over the latter of them (*b*). In *Egypt* he was received with great devotion, as if he

a *Ruffin. Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 23.

b See *Kirch. Oed. Syn.* 3. c. 5. p. 194.

he had been a kind of husband to their *Isis*, when she signified the Earth; and a god proper for their *Nilus*, and their fertile soil. To this invention they soon added, and sometimes they confounded him with their *Apis* and *Osiris*; and sometimes they honoured him as the *Sun*, or Nature, or the Soul of the World. In the Temple of *Alexandria* his mighty Image reached one side of it with its right hand, and the other with its left; and it was made of all woods and metals; and by an artificial window (as has been said already) it admitted the Sun-beams. In some of its Statues he represented *Jupiter* in the Head, *Neptune* in the Belly, as also *Pluto*, and other Stygian Deities; in the Ears, *Mercury*, and *Apollo* in the Eyes (*a*). Thus it fared with this Idol, which when Superstition had dressed it, was the least part of its former self.

a *Id. Ibid.* p. 195.

There is something in the name *Æsculapius* which soundeth like *Apis*, and on him some have fixed. He indeed is of sufficient Antiquity, if he be (what a learned man (*b*) thinks him) King *Tosorthrus* the successor of *Menis*. But I meet with no reason offered for the proof of these matters. The sound of the name in *Latine* and *Greek* I allow not as a reason: the ancient *Egyptian* name was neither *Æsculapius*, nor (which is further removed) Ἀσκληπιὸς, these being apparently of other Countrys. Add to this, that the *Greeks* in the *Stromata* of *Clemens* (*c*), oppose *Apis* to *Æsculapius*, and make the first the Inventor, the second the Improver of Physick. Somewhat like to this is said by St. *Cyril*, who following the chase of Pagan Mythologers, doth make *Apis* the Inventor of Physick, and the Teacher of it to *Æsculapius* (*d*); who thenceforth it seems left *Egypt*, and travelled the World for the gaining of Riches by this useful Art, which in after-times was said Proverbially to give them. And to this Tale belongs another

b *D. Marsh. Chron. Canon. Secul.* 1. p. 28, 39.

c *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 1. p. 307. A. & *ap. Euseb. de Præp. Ev.* l. 10. c. 6. p. 475.

d *S. Cyr. cont. Julian.* l. 6. p. 200.

of

of *Serapis* and *Æſculapius*, as both meant by *Pluto* (*a*), who is converſant amongſt Metals, Stones, Roots, Plants, ſubterraneous Treaſure, and whatſoever conduceth to the health and life of man. You ſee towards what Nation, and what times, this *Æſculapius*, *Apis*, or *Serapis* inclines, and that *Moſes* never knew him.

a See Kirch. *Otd. Syn.* 3. c. 5. p. 195.

There is ſtill as little certainty in their opinion who confound the *Egyptian Apis*, with *Apis* the *Argive*, the Son of *Phoroneus*; which *Apis*, *Gerard Voſſius* (*b*) ſuppoſeth to be that *Jupiter* who was inceſtuouſly familiar with *Niobe*. Of the number of them who make the *Egyptian Apis* the ſame with the *Argive*, *Hecataeus* is one (*c*). And he being himſelf an *Argive*, is tempted to a vain Fable in honour of his Country. *Arnobius*, out of miſtake, rather than pride, confoundeth Times and Perſons (*d*), whilſt he ſaith of *Apis*, that he was born in *Peloponneſus*, and called in *Egypt*, *Serapis*. They had ſpoken righter who called *Serapis* the [Ζορὸς, the] Coffin, or Grave of *Apis*; if they had meant this of *Pluto* as the God of the Earth, who as 'twere ſwallowed up the Worſhip of *Apis* in his own at *Alexandria*. *Herodotus* himſelf [though he never nameth the name of *Serapis*, it being not then invented,] is yet in a great error (*e*) when he maketh *Epaphus* and *Apis* to be the ſame. For *Epaphus*, Great Grandfather to *Cadmus*, was (as *Ælian* (*f*) noteth) ſome Ages after him. But we owe it to the Pride of *Grece*, that her Accounts are ſo antedated and corrupted. Little truth in the preſent Argument may we expect from *Ariſtippus* a *Grecian* Mythologer, in his *Arcadian* ſtory; or from *Ariſteas* the *Argive* (*g*). Of them the firſt maketh *Apis* the Son of *Phoroneus* the Founder of *Memphis*; the other affirmeth him to be that very *Serapis* whom the *Egyptians* worſhipped.

b *Ger. Voſſ. de Idol.* l. 1. c. 14. p. 59.

c *Hecataeus ap. Clem. Alex.* p. 322. See *S. Aug. de Civit. Dei.* l. 18. c. 5. p. 1003.

d *Arnob. adv. Gen.* l. 1. p. 20.

e *Herod. in Euterpe.* p. 169. & *in Thalia.* p. 195. ἰδ ἔτι Ἄπις ἐπιφοιτᾷ ἐς Ἕλληνας, &c.

f *Ælian. de Animal.* l. 11. c. 10.

g *Ap. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 12. p. 499. *ex Clem. Strom. prim.*

In the mean time *Pauſanias* (*h*) blotteth the very

h See *D. Marſh. Chron. Can.* p. 83.

name of *Apis* out of the line of the *Argives*; and *Æschylus* will not allow him the place of a King (*a*). *Apollodorus*, who owneth him in that quality (*b*), is so far from transporting him into *Egypt*, and honouring of him as the builder of *Memphis*, (a City built by *Menis* (*c*), whose memory it retains in the very name of it;) that he finds both his Cradle and Grave in his Fathers Country. His Father left him too deeply engaged in a quarrel with *Telxion* and the *Telchines* (*d*), to become a Conquerour in *Egypt*: and it was by their Stratagems (*e*) that he died so immaturely and without issue in *Apia* or *Peloponnesus*. But if it were granted that the *Argive* were also the *Egyptian Apis*, I see not the advantage which it could give to them who make his Symbol the Pattern of the Golden Calf. For both *Africanus* and *Tatianus* (*f*) prove it of *Moses* that he was equal with *Inachus*, whom *Phoroneus* the Father of *Apis* is said to succeed. The truth is, we are here fallen amongst dark and uncertain times, and can scarce tread with assurance in any path of *Grecian* story, till we are come to the times of *Thesens*. And so much *Plutarch* with singular honesty and truth hath openly acknowledged. For *Inachus* himself, some think him a Fiction, some a Man, others a River; and amongst these latter is *Pausanias*.

a *Suppl.* v. 266.
b *Apoll. Bibl.* l. 2. c. 1. p. 67, 68.
c *Herod.* l. 2. p. 141.
d *Syncellus*, p. 126. C.
e *Apollod.* l. 2. c. 1. p. 68. compar'd with *Syncellus*.
f *Ap. Eusib. de Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 10. p. 490, & c. 11. p. 494.

The Original *Apis* adored in *Egypt*, was no doubt a man; but who he was, it is hard to discover; so great is the perplexity which the blending as it were of his Worship with that of *Serapis*, after the *Macedonian* Conquest, has occasioned in this Argument. *Bacchus*, *Æsculapius*, and *Serapis*, each of them (*g*) in Coins, Marbles, and Books, have the form sometimes of a bearded or aged man, and sometimes of a child. And this variety of form teacheth us that there was a more ancient and more modern *Bacchus*, *Æsculapius*, *Apis*

g See *Caperi Harpocr.* p. 102, 103, 104.

Apis, or *Serapis*, though under other names. For the *Grecian Serapis*, whatſoever his Age was in *Greece*, his Worſhip was eſteemed modern in *Egypt*. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Horus* (*a*), meaning all the people of that Nation) received not either *Saturn*, or *Serapis*, into their Temples, till after the death of *Alexander* the Great. In his time they were admitted in his City of *Alexandria*, of which *Pauſanias* ſaith, that it was famous for the Temple of *Serapis*, but could not with colour of reaſon pretend to the Antiquity of that in *Memphis*. Of the *Naucratitæ* in *Egypt*, *Celſus* (*b*) himſelf confeſſeth, that it was not long ſince they received the Deity of *Serapis*. *Tacitus* gives intimation of the union as it were of *Apis* and *Serapis* into one Idol, where he ſpeaketh of a Temple built in *Rhacotis* [the place it may be taking its name from the Shrine] to the modern *Serapis*, in the very place where one had been anciently conſecrated to *Serapis* and *Iſis*. [That is, as he ought to have written it, of *Apis* or *Oſiris* together with *Iſis*.] After the death of *Alexander*, the *Ptolomies* advancing the Power of *Greece*, the Superſtitions of *Serapis* were not confined to *Alexandria*, but were impoſed on all *Egypt*. In this matter I find a very pertinent place in St. *Cyril* (*c*); and I will here inſert it. "In the 124 *Olympiad*, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* ru-"ling in *Egypt*, they report of *Serapis*, that he was "tranſlated from *Sinope* to *Alexandria*; that he was "the ſame, with *Pluto*; that they built a Shrine to his "Image called by the *Egyptians* in their native tongue "*Racotis*, by which word they meant nothing but "*Pluto*; and that they erected a Temple nigh to theſe "Monuments. But here the *Greeks* are at odds; ſome "thinking him to be *Oſiris* rather than *Pluto*, and others "*Apis*. A mighty feud ariſing from hence, they com-"poſed the difference by giving to the Statue the

a *Horus apud Macrob. Sat.* l. 1. c. 7. p. 215.

b *Celſ. ap. Orig. cont. Celſ.* l. 5. p. 254.

c *S. Cyril. Alex. cont. Jul.* l. 1. p. 13.

" name of *Osirapis*, both parties having a share in the " name. In process of time *Osi* was disused in pronun- " ciation, and *Sarapis* became the common name. Thus were *Egyptian* and *Grecian* matters then confounded, as the *Roman* were afterwards, of which we have a fit embleme in those ancient Coins (*a*), one side of which exhibited the Head of *Augustus*, and *M. Agrippa*; the other a Crocodile. It is then no wonder if those who have written in succeeding times, have not well distinguished betwixt the *Egyptian Apis*, and the *Alexandrian Serapis*, whilst they found their Rites and Titles so interwoven. It is plain from the Epistle of *Julian* to the Citizens of *Alexandria* (*b*), That he mistook both Deities for one. For he speaks to the *Alexandrians*, as to men whom he supposed to be originally *Grecians* (*c*): And he magnifieth their great God *Serapis* (*d*), and ascribeth to him the Gift of his Empire. And this I imagin to be the reason why *Serapis* or *Pluto*, above all the other gods of *Grece*, was set up in *Egypt*. For the Empire of it was the thing principally valued by *Alexander*; and *Pluto* being the god of this World in their opinion, and the deity that extended the *Macedonian* Power to *Egypt*; did therefore obtain the principal Return of the Gratitude of the Conquerour. *Pluto* (I say) or *Serapis* was by Heathen estimation, the god of this World: not the Prince of all Dæmons, but the Prince of Terrestrial spirits inhabiting the Earth, and the gross Atmosphere that belongs to it. He was the *Beelzebub*, the god of durt or earth; the ruler of the Terrene Dæmons, as they called them, and of Subcœlestial places. They who will not assent to this conjecture, may consult *Porphyry* (*e*), who maketh *Serapis* and *Pluto* the same Deity; confineth not his Power to the Earth, but extendeth it to the air about it, (which it seems was vehemently beaten by his order, for

a *Ap. Thomasium de Tesseris Hospital.* c. 28. p. 202, 203.

b *Julian. ap. Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 3. p. 171, 172, 173.

c *Id. Ibid.* p. 173. —— ἤπερ ἐστὲ, καθάπερ ἀκούω, τότε ἀρχαῖον ἕλλενες.

d *Ib.* p. 171.

e *Porphyr. ap. Euseb. de Præp. Evangel.* l. 4. c. 22. & c. 23. p. 173, 174.

for the driving away of Dæmons, and the introduction of his preſence); and ſetteth him over [περιφὲς δαίμονας] evil ſpirits, or Dæmons, who with groſs Vehicles were hovering about the Earth.

PART 6.

Of the Egyptian Apis; *Whether he were* Moſes?

WHO the *Grecian Apis* or *Serapis* was, I will no further inquire. But concerning the *Apis* of *Egypt*, I will for once perſonate an Adventurer in Philology, and ſee if any new diſcovery may be made, or rather be gueſſed at. For in theſe Arguments he that looks for Demonſtration is in the ready way of having his hopes deluded. Men here judg by Veriſimilitude; and they judg perſons in ſtory to be the ſame by a few likeneſſes; ſuch as thoſe of name and place: and they ſeldom conſider the many particulars in which they differ, but attend to thoſe few in which they agree. He that hath but one mark is ſometimes taken for the perſon by the Philological Huy and Cry: And 'tis a wonder that ſome Smatterer or other who has read of the Idol *Semis* in a Promontory nigh *Lapland*, has not thence found out *Sem* and his Off-ſpring in the North. I ſhall not argue here from the mere likeneſs of Names, for I am about to find out *Moſes* in *Apis*.

The Learned and diligent *Gerard Voſſius* believed *Joſeph* to be *Apis* (*a*); and before him, *Abenezra*. "*Joſeph* (ſaid he) ſpake to *Pharaoh* on this manner (*b*), Set "me over the Treaſure of *Egypt*, for I will be a faithful "Steward. And the King made him keeper of all the "Repoſitories of the Land, and *Joſeph* became in ſome "ſort a King over all the Country, and they called "him *Apis*. I know not whence he had this Tale, yet ſure I am that it maketh not much for the honour of

a *Voſſ. de Idol.* l. 1. c. 29. p. 110, 111, *&c.*

b *Abenezr. ap. Kirch. Oed. Syn.* 3. c. 5. p. 197.

Joſeph's

Joseph's modesty. But it is not here my purpose to refute the conceits of other men; it will be well if I can any way establish my own, and shew with probability that *Moses* is *Apis*.

We have heard already from *Eusebius*, that *Apis* (miscalled *Epaphus*) was Contemporary with *Chencres*, and that *Chencres* was the *Pharaoh* that pursued *Moses*. And we may further observe, what is affirmed by *Polemo* (*a*) in his first Book of the *Grecian* Story, "That "in the time of *Apis*, a part of the *Egyptian* Forces "made defection, and going forth, seated themselves "in *Palestine*, called *Syria*, in the Neighbourhood of "*Arabia*. Now it may seem probable that *Moses* was this *Apis*, and not *Apis* the Son of *Phoroneus*, as *Polemo* believed; if these three things be jointly considered:

First, That *Moses* was the ancient *Egyptian* or *Arabian Bacchus*.

Secondly, That *Bacchus* was the *Egyptian Osiris*.

Thirdly, That the ancient *Egyptian Bacchus* and *Osiris* was no other than *Apis*.

For the first, it may be argued with shew of probability, that *Moses* and *Bacchus* are the same persons under differing names, from the parallel circumstances of their Story. I speak still of the first *Egyptian Bacchus*; for concerning the *Grecian Dionysius* (or rather *Dionysus*), it is prov'd by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, that he was not put into the Calendar of the gods till six hundred and four years (*b*) after the times of *Moses*. Now the Parallel betwixt *Moses* and *Bacchus* was drawn long ago, by our Learned Countryman Mr. *Hugh Sanford* (*c*), and after him by *Gerard Vossius* (*d*), and after both by the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* (*e*).

Orpheus in his Hymn of *Bacchus*, celebrateth the Honour of *Mises*, whom he calleth *Dionysius*. He comes we see within a point, as it were, of the name of *Moses*.

Pausanias

a See *Euseb. de Prep. Ev.* l. 10. c. 10. p. 490.

b *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 1. p. 321, 322.

c *Sanford. de descensu Christi ad Inf.* l. 1. p. 28, 29, 30, 31, &c.

d *Ger. Voss. de Idol.* l. 1. c. 30. p. 116, 117, &c.

e *Herb. de Relig. Gentil. in Bacche.* p. 137, 138, 139.

Pauſanias mentions an ancient Tradition concerning *Bacchus*, plucked in his Infancy out of the waters. So *Moſes* we know eſcaped miraculouſly in his Ark of Ruſhes.

Bacchus is by the Poets called [διμάτωρ] the Son of a double Mother. As ſuch a one the holy Hiſtory repreſenteth *Moſes*, to whom the ſecond Mother was the daughter of *Pharaoh*.

Plutarch reporteth it from the *Egyptians*, that *Iſis* was the Mother of *Bacchus*, (or, as *Lactantius* (*a*) will have it of *Oſiris*.) Alſo that *Iſis* being dejected with ſorrow, and drowned in tears, was carried to the Queen by ſome of her maid-ſervants, and kindly received, and made Nurſe to her Infant-ſon, whoſe name was *Paleſtinus*. And the ſtory of *Plutarch* in his *Iſis* and *Oſiris* is the Hiſtory in the Bible concerning *Moſes* and his natural Mother, and the daughter of *Pharaoh*, in ſuch little diſguiſe, that the dulleſt eye (a man would think) might look thorough it.

(*a*) *Lactant.* l. 1. *de falſ. Relig.* Sect. 21. p. 117, 118, 119.

Nothing is more common in the ſtory of *Bacchus*, than his going into *Arabia* with a mixed multitude of Men and Women; his flight to the Red-Sea; his Wars in the *Arabick India*, (for by that name the ancient *Europeans* called thoſe Regions which lay beyond the Midland-Sea); his fetching Water out of a Rock; a Miracle mentioned by *Euripides*; the Image of a Serpent carried in Proceſſion in his Worſhip, and ſpoken of by *Nonnius*. All which Particulars ſeem to have relation to the Circumſtances of *Moſes*, to whom the ancient *Bacchus* would have appeared more like, if he had not been disfigured by the new ſtrokes which the Mythological Painters of the *Grecian Bacchus* have touch'd him with.

Theſe Particulars, together with many more, are named to my hand, by *Sanford* and *Voſſius*. They inſiſt

in eſpecial manner on the Education of *Bacchus* in a Mount of *Arabia* called *Nyſa*, and ſuppoſed to be but a kind of Anagram of *Sina*. Againſt this there lies an Argument which I muſt not conceal, though I remember not that either Mr. *Sanford* or *Voſſius* have taken notice of it. This Argument is grounded on a paſſage in *Curtius*. That Hiſtorian telleth, how *Alexander* entring *India*, came to *Nyſa*, ſituate at the Root of the Mountain *Meron*, and that the Inhabitants of that place did pretend to be a people deſcended from *Bacchus*. Their Mountain (as he continueth his ſtory) was all covered with Ivy and Vines (*a*). To this Objection I would anſwer, that the *India* which *Alexander* entred was not the *Arabia* or *Arabick Æthiopia* of the ancient *Bacchus*; and that his *Nyſa* or *Nyſſa*, was plainly another Town from that in *Curtius*, being called by *Diodorus* (both in his third and fourth Books of Hiſtory) the *Nyſſa* of *Arabia*; and by *Herodotus* (*b*), the *Nyſſa* of *Æthiopia*; and being ſaid in *Homer* (*c*), to be nigh the Waters of *Egypt*. It was therefore ſituate in *Arabia Petræa*, called by the *Hebrews Chus*, which is generally tranſlated *Æthiopia*. The place mentioned by *Curtius* by its name of *Nyſa*, and by the quality of its Mountain, might fairly pretend to *Bacchus*, as many Cities did to one *Homer*; and as ſome *Pariſians* do to St. *Dennis* the *Areopagite*, though one younger by many years was more truly their Apoſtle. And their pretence to *Bacchus*, eſpecially as dreſſed with his Vines and Ivy in the *Grecian* mode, might the more reconcile them to the favour of a Conquerour who came from *Macedon*.

a *Quint. Curt.* l. 8. p. 203.

b *Herod.* l. 2. p. 165.

c —— ἐς Νύσην Ἀνδρηΐων ἔδαρ.

This being ſaid in anſwer to the Argument taken from *Curtius*, I will add only two Remarks to the many of Mr. *Sanford*. The firſt, that *Bacchus* was nurſed by the *Hyades*, the watry Conſtellation of *Taurus* (*d*).

d *Ovid.* l. 5. *Faſt.*
Ora micant Tauri ſeptem radiantia flammis,
Navita quas Hyadas Grajus ab imbre vocat.
Pars Bacchum nutriſſe putat.——

The

The ſecond, that he was born (as *Orpheus* teſtifies in his Hymn on *Miſes*) [—Ἀιγύπτε παρὰ χῶμα,] by the River, or *Nilus*, of *Egypt*.

Cuperus ſpeaking in his *Harpocrates* (a), of the deities of *Egypt*, does bid his Reader not expect any concord in Fables. I pretend not to be a thorough-reconciler, or to adjuſt all differences betwixt the Heathen Mythologers. Each City almoſt had different gods, and a different Scheme of Theology; and yet they uſed common names, and thereby perplexed both the preſent and the ſucceeding Ages. *Oſiris* is ſometimes *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, *Titan*, *Phœbus*, *Mithras*, *Serapis*, *Apis*, *Oceanus*, *Sol*, *Sirius*. *Iſis*, is *Minerva*, *Proſerpina*, *Luna*, *Thetis*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Bellona*, *Hecate*, *Rhamnuſia* (b). Yet in this parallel betwixt *Bacchus* and *Moſes*, ſo much concord appeareth, that a Philologer may be inclined to take them for the ſame, notwithſtanding the diſparity which hath been occaſioned by the intermixture of *Grecian* and *Egyptian* Superſtitions.

a *Cuperus in Harpocr.* p. 72.

b See *Pignor. Muſ. Iſiac.* p. 4, 5. & *Kircheri Oed. Synt.* 3. c. 4. p. 189.

Be it then ſuppoſed as probable in the firſt place that *Bacchus* is *Moſes*. I proceed in the next place to ſhew the leſs learned Reader, that *Oſiris* is *Bacchus*.

Oſiris is a name big with ambiguity, and hath been applied to vary many of the Heathen gods; and eminently (c) to the *Sun*, (as alſo was *Apis* (d) and (e) *Bacchus*); and ſometimes ſupereminently, as I may ſo ſpeak, being uſed to ſignifie a ſuperior god, whoſe eye the *Sun* was reputed (f). *Apis* himſelf is referred by ſome, in *Lucian* (g), to the Cœleſtial Bull, after the manner of the Modern Heathens, who being upbraided by the Fathers as worſhippers of dead and wicked men, reformed or diſguiſed their ancient Theology, and explained their Superſtitions by natural things. But the proper *Egyptian Apis* was a Prince. And ſo was

c *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. c. 11. p. 10. *Macr. Sat.* l. 1. c. 21. p. 302, 303.

d *Macrob. Sat.* l. 1. c. 21 p. 305.

e *Serv. ad Æn.* l. 3. *Ipſe enim eſt Sol, & Liber Patr.*

f *Macr. Sat. Ib.* p. 303.

g *Lucian. de Aſtrolog.* pag. 540.

their *Osiris*, or as *Orpheus* calleth *Bacchus*, [Θεσμοφόρος,] a Legislator, and no other than *Bacchus*. This *Herodotus* testifieth in express words (*a*). *Osiris* (saith he in his *Euterpe*) is *Dionysus*, in the Appellation of the *Greeks*. *Diodorus Siculus* doth (*b*) after the same manner give the name of *Dionysus* to *Osiris*; and he doth it upon the Authority of the ancient *Greek* Poets, *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus*. And he affirms a while after (*c*) from ancient Tradition, that *Osiris* was *Bacchus*. And a man would guess as much, whilst he reads of the escape of *Bacchus* out of the Waters, and of his Education in the *Arabian Nysa* before remembred; and then compareth with these particulars, the Ark in which *Osiris* was cast into the River, by the *Tanitick* (*d*) mouth of *Nilus*; and the Education of *Osiris* in the same *Nysa*, according to *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus* (*e*). To these particulars a third may be added, of the Serpent in the Tables of *Osiris* and *Bacchus* (*f*). Now these particulars seem also to relate to the Ark, the Holy Mountain, the Rod of *Moses*.

a *Herod.* l. 2. p. 165.

b *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. c. 11. p. 10.

c *Id. ib.* c. 13. p. 12.

d *Plutarc. in Is. & Osir.* p. 356. C.

e *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. c. 15. p. 13, 14.

f *Pignor. de Mens. Isia.* p. 23.

It remaineth that I shew in the third place that as *Moses* is *Bacchus*, and (*g*) *Bacchus Osiris*, so also that *Osiris* is *Apis*.

Apis hath been said to relate to the *Sun*, as did *Osiris*, but both were a deity sometimes of another kind. And in *Memphis* it self (*h*) there were Priests of *Vulcan*, or the *Sun*, distinct from those of *Apis*. He was an Hero, and the same with *Osiris*. The Bull *Apis* is affirmed by *Diodorus* (*i*) to be sacred to *Osiris* amongst the *Egyptians*. And again *Strabo* saith directly (*k*), that *Apis* is *Osiris*. And to them we may add *Plutarch*, who asserteth, both that *Osiris* and *Serapis* are the same; and that the Bull *Apis* was worshipped as the animated Image of *Osiris*. And to this agreeth the story of the solemn mourning in *Egypt* at the disappearance, and the

g *Ogygia me Bacchum vocant, Osirin Ægyptus putat. Auson.* See *Plutarc. de Is. & Cuperi Harpocr.* p. 70.

h *Herod. Euterp.* p. 101.

i *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. c. 21. p. 18.

k *Strabo Geog.* l. 17. p. 807.

the ſolemn joy there at the reappearance both of *Oſiris* and *Apis* (*a*). It is further obſervable, that *Bacchus* is ſaid (*b*) to have appeared in the form of a Bull. That *Mnevis* the ſecond *Apis* was called *Bacis* (*c*). That *Moſes* in *Manetho* (*d*), cited by *Joſephus*, hath the name *Oſarſyphus*, which ſeems but a great depravation of *Oſiris*, and ſcarce a greater one than that in *Macrobius* (*e*), of *Neton* for *Mnevis*. That in the Coins of *Elagabalus* and *Gallienus*, *Serapis* carries a meaſure adorned with a Vine-leaf; and is therefore as *Triſtan* concludeth, the ſame with *Bacchus*. Laſt of all, that *Phylarchus* in *Plutarch* (*f*) reporteth of *Bacchus*, that he firſt brought out of *India* (or *Arabia*) two Bulls, the one called *Apis*, the other *Oſiris*. In this laſt citation, ſome *Goropius Becanus* would confidently ſay, that the truth ſhineth ſo fairly through the Fable, that we may diſcern in it *Moſes*, *Bacchus*, *Oſiris*, *Apis*, to be one man under four ſeveral names. Other Particulars might ſtill be added in this Argument; as that ſome Heathens imagined *Bacchus* to have been worſhipped in the Temple of the *Jews* (*g*), under the Emblem of the Vine; and that *Oſiris*, as well as *Harpocrates*, is deſcribed (*h*) with his finger upon his mouth, repreſenting (as ſome would gueſs), the ſlow ſpeech of *Moſes*.

But enough (I think) has been ſaid already to render it probable that *Moſes* was *Apis*; the thing which by ſuch proofs and reaſons as Philology admitteth in other caſes, was to be evinced.

PART 7.

Why Moſes *might be Idolized among the* Egyptians.

I Have been long already in this diſquiſition, but I am not yet at the end of it: For the curious may

a *Macrob. Sat.* l. 1. c. 21. p. 303.
b *Annot.* 4. *Pontani Satyr.* &c. *Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Oſiri—— Invento —— Clamatum autem uti invenio in Gloſſis vetuſtis,* Εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν: *De Ap. vide Herod. in Thal.* p. 195, 196. *de Oſir. & Ap. vide Tibull.* l. 1. *Eleg.* 8. p. 271. *Te canit, atq; ſuum, patris, miratur Oſirim, Barbara, Memphitem plangere doctа bovem.*
c *Anton. Liberal. Meta.* c. 10. p. 422. See *Ælian.* l. 12. c. 11. & *Pignor. menſ. Iſiac.* 48, 49.
d See *Marſh. Chron. Can.* p. 196.
e *Macrob. Sat.* l. 1. c. 21. p. 305.
f *Plutarc. de Iſ. & Oſir.* p. 362.
g *Stid. de Dijs Syris Synt.* 2. c. 17. p. 372.
h *Capitr. Harpocr.* p. 53. *Pignor. de menſa Iſiacâ.* p. 4.

further offer to me with pertinence, theſe following Queſtions.

Firſt, How *Moſes* came to obtain ſuch Divine Veneration among the *Egyptians* on whom he drew very grievous plagues, and from whom he removed a great Army of their neceſſary ſervants?

Secondly, Why *Moſes* was honoured by an Ox?

Thirdly, Whence that Symbol received the name of *Apis*?

Fourthly, At what time this Idolatrous Worſhip of the Symbol of *Moſes* commenced in *Egypt*?

Fifthly, When, and for what reaſon, it was divided into the Worſhip of *Apis* and *Mnevis*?

I ſhall return ſomething in anſwer to each Query; but I do not ſooth up my ſelf with the vain hope of giving ſuch an anſwer as ſhall fully ſatisfie others, or ſo much as my ſelf.

This caution would have been the leſs neceſſary if all the other Queries had been as eaſie to be reſolved as the firſt, concerning the Worſhip given in *Egypt* to the Symbol of *Moſes*.

It is not my opinion alone that he was there honoured after death, with Religious Veneration. Saint *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſaid the ſame many ages ago. And it was not his bare opinion, but he proved it by the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*. The place of St. *Cyril* which I here refer to is this (*a*): "*Moſes* was well "known to the *Greek* Hiſtorians.——For *Polemon* in "his firſt Book of *Grecian* Hiſtory, maketh mention of "him. So do *Ptolemæus Mendeſius*, *Hellanicus*, *Pholo*-"*chorus* and *Caſtor*, and many others. *Diodorus* who "inquired very curiouſly into the affairs of *Egypt*, "ſays, he heard of him from their Wiſemen; and of "him he thus writeth: After the ancient way of li-"ving in *Egypt*, that (which they talk of) under their

a S. *Cyr. Alex. contr. Julian.* l. 1, p. 15, 16.

* "Deities

"Deities and Heroes; the people (as they report) "were first brought to live by written Laws, by a man "of a very great mind, and of a most memorable new "way of life among the *Jews*; one *Moses* who was "called a God (*a*). For (as St. *Cyril* proceedeth to "note on this place of *Diodorus*) when they saw *Moses* "most accomplished with every virtue, they called him "a God, and, as I think of some of the *Egyptians*, they "gave him divine honour, being ignorant that the "supreme God had said thus to him, *Behold I have given thee as a God to Pharaoh.*

a *Diod. Sic. ap. S. Cyr. ibid.* p. 15. E.—— Μωσῆν, τὸν καλούμενον Θεόν.

Here we have it asserted that *Moses* was highly honoured in *Egypt*. And there were reasons enough for the honouring of him, and they might prove the occasions of making him an Idol. For Idolatry is veneration overmuch strained.

Moses was born and educated in *Egypt*; he was reputed the Son of *Pharaoh*'s daughter; he was learned in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*; he shined in that Court as the Moon amongst the little and confused Lights of the *Galaxie*. He was the Instrument of God in doing mighty wonders; mighty beyond the power of Natural, Artificial, or Diabolical Magick. And these wonders God wrought by him in the eye of the *African* World. The holy Scripture reporteth of him (*b*) that *He did marvellous things in the fields of Zoan*, or *Tanis*, the Metropolis of the lower *Egypt*. Also, *that* (*c*) *that he was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaohs servants, and in the sight of the people.* The Son of *Syrach* (*d*) calleth him, *The beloved of God and man*; and sheweth the favour of God towards him, in *making him glorious in the sight of Kings* (*e*). And though he fled out of *Egypt*, he was even then a benefactor, removing a people whom the *Egyptians* dismissed with gifts; and causing their Plagues when himself

b Psal. 78. 12.

c Exod. 11. 3.

d Ecclus. 45. 1.

e Ver. 2.

himſelf diſappeared to vaniſh away. And though he had no way proved a Benefactor, his very power of ſending Plagues had been enough to deifie him with that people, who ſcarce diſtinguiſh'd as we do betwixt good and bad Angels; but looked on them that wrought temporal evil, as Miniſters of Juſtice, and not as envious and malicious ſpirits. Power to do hurt was reverenced by them, and they worſhipped *Typhon* as well as *Oſiris*.

At the Red-ſea he aſtoniſhed *Egypt* with a Miracle too great and difficult for the united power of all their gods, who could neither oppoſe it, nor do any thing equal to it. And though hereby he conveighed *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, yet that deliverance of them could not but repreſent him, to all that heard the fame of it, as a kind and compaſſionate man, who ſaved his own Nation from the tyranny of a Prince, whoſe rage ſwelled more than that of the waves in which he periſhed. *Pharaoh* certainly oppreſſed his own people as well as the *Iſraelites*. For a proud and cruel Prince is like a Wolf, who has no kindneſs for any beaſt, though he be fierceſt towards the ſheep. And the fall of a Tyrant makes an agreeable ſound in the ears of all the ſlaves which he hath bored, whatſoever the hand be by which he is humbled.

Moſes ſtill grew in Eminence by his converſation with God, by his conduct, by his delivery of the Law, by the ſucceſs of his arms (which *Philo* (*a*) eſteemeth very extraordinary, whilſt he warred without money the nerve of War), and laſt of all by the power of his Miracles.

a *Philo Jud. de Præm. & Pœn.* p. 918. D.

He was ſo eminent a perſon, that *R. Joſua* the Son of *Sohib* (*b*) hath exalted him, not only above the Patriarchs, but even above all Creatures in Heaven and Earth, placing the very Angels at the feet of this Prophet.

b *R. Joſ. ap. Com. in Main. de Fundam. Leg.* p. 9.

Prophet. *Artapanus* likewise relateth concerning him (*a*), that he was in singular favour with the people, and obtained the name of *Hermes*, and honour equal to their Deities. From the same authority of *Artapanus*, *Eusebius* reporteth (*b*), that in memory of the Rod of *Moses*, a Rod was preserved with veneration in every *Egyptian* Temple, and particularly in the Temple of *Isis*.

a *Artap. ap. Eus. de Præp. Evang.* l. 9. c. 27. p. 432.— ἰσοθέου τιμῆς.
b *Id. ibid.* p. 435.

Egypt then never enjoying so great a person as *Moses*, (if I except the Messiah, carried thither in the days of his Infancy, and there obscured); It is not exceeding strange that a Nation so apt to multiply her gods, should Canonize him. Neither is it on the other hand to be admired that in latter Ages their Reverence should be abated. In the days of *Diodorus Siculus* the *Egyptians* reviled *Moses*, so far were they from adoring him as a god. The cause is manifest. They were a new and mixed generation who either preferred the new *Serapis* before the ancient *Apis*; or mistook both whilst they were blended in one. And in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ptolomæus Auletes* had less regard for *Egypt* than for *Rome*, a place where the *Jews* and their Legislator were then sufficiently despised.

If now so fair an account could not have been given concerning the occasions which rendred *Moses* an Idol in *Egypt*; yet that had not been a warrantable reason for the denial of the thing it self. For *Isis* was worshipped amongst the *Suevi*; yet *Tacitus* professeth that he knew not the way by which that foreign Religion did travel thither.

PART.

PART 8.

Why Moſes *might be honoured by the Symbol of an Ox.*

FOR the ſecond Queſtion, why *Moſes* was honoured by the Symbol of an Ox; I muſt not dogmatize in the reſolution of it. Idolatrous Prieſts were extremely fanciful, both in the names and in the Images of their Gods. And who can at this diſtance of time, and after ſo many revolutions, ſearch every fold in their imagination? They deſcribed the Junior *Bacchus* with the face of a Bull (*a*), having reſpect to the ſtrength of Wine, of which he was ſaid (though falſly) to be the inventer. And who knows whether the *Egyptians* might not in ſuch ſort labour with their fancy, in bringing forth the Image of their more ancient *Bacchus*, whom we ſuſpect to have been *Moſes*. To him learn'd men have aſcribed the Fable of the invention of Wine. And they think it might have occaſion given to it by the cluſters of *Eſchol*, imperfectly underſtood. He that would indulge his fancy might ſtill be fruitful in reaſons: And he might ſay amongſt other things, that the rays from the face of *Moſes* might move them to the choice of this Symbol of the Ox. For they reſembled Horns of ſtrength, which were common Enſigns of Kingly Power, both in *Egypt* and *Phœnicia* (*b*).

Artapanus (*c*) aſcribeth to *Moſes* the Invention of Tillage by the help of Oxen. And thence may again be offered a conjecture about the cauſe of this Symbol. And it is but a conjecture. For it is ſtrange if from the time of *Cain*, till the days of *Moſes*, ſo obvious and uſeful an invention ſhould be unknown to the world. But if it was ſo long unknown, the diſcovery of it was of leſs advantage to *Egypt* than to moſt Countries of the World. For (to uſe the words of Monſieur *Vattier*

a *De Bacche ταυρωπῷ.* See *Iön. P.—in Athen. Dipn.* l. 2. p. 35. & *Caſaub. Not.* p. 78.

b See *Pignor. de Menſâ Iſiacâ.* p. 30.

c *Artap. ap. Euſ. de Præp. Ev.* l. 9. c. 27. p. 433.

Vattier (*a*), in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt* the Fields of *Egypt* are changed into ſo many Seas, and the Cities and Villages, into ſo many Iſlands, by a fortunate Inundation, which ſpares the Inhabitants that trouble of Tilling and manuring them, which is elſewhere neceſſary. For the *Egyptians* have no more to do but to ſow the ſeeds, when the waters are fallen away, and ſlightly to ſtir the ſlime which was ſpread on the Earth, that they might not lye uncovered. And this they did of old, [not by Oxen, but] as *Herodotus* relates, by herds of Swine driven after the ſowers. And yet ſome Heathen Writers aſcribe the invention of Tillage to *Oſiris* (*b*); and they make *Iſis* (*c*) to be *Ceres*; and the ancient *Iſis* called *Ceres*, and ſaid by *Lactantius* to be the mother of *Oſiris*, ſeemeth no other than the Mother of *Moſes*. If any thing of this nature be applicable to him, I ſhould think it rather ſome way of getting the corn out of the ear by the help of Oxen, than the invention of Tillage it ſelf by them; for to that uſe Oxen ſerved in his time, and his Law forbiddeth the muzling of ſuch ſerviceable Creatures. It may be, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid gueſſes, that the ſtory of *Moſes* ſacrificing Oxen to his God, and of *Aaron* making the Golden Calf; and again of *Moſes* conducting the *Iſraelites* towards *Paleſtine*, the then Granary of the World; being received in *Egypt*, or in ſome other place of Commerce, in a confuſed and imperfect narration, after the manner of reports at diſtance of time and place, might give occaſion to the worſhip of him in the form of a Bull.

But if I attribute this form to him, as the Embleme of his diligence and victorious ſtrength, (for the Horn, as was juſt now ſaid, ſerved for ſuch an Embleme;) I ſhall bring the nigher together, the reaſons of his Symbol, and of the name of it, about which latter I am to ſay ſomething in anſwer to the third Queſtion above propounded.

a *M. Vatt. Præf. to Prod. of Egypt.* p. 7, 8.

b See *Natal. Com.* p. 482.

c *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. c. 13. p. 12.

PART 9.

Why Moſes *might be called* Apis.

SOmething I would ſay concerning the name of *Apis* as relating to *Moſes*; but what I have to produce is very little, and very uncertain. And nothing is more uncertain than the reaſon of the firſt impoſition of names. It is at the pleaſure of men, and they are often humourſome; and often a juſt occaſion taken by them is worn out through time and new uſes, which create new names. In an *Egyptian* word it is no wonder if men be at a loſs, ſeeing the Language is periſhed. The Learned *Gerard Voſſius* (*a*) thinketh *Joſeph* to be *Apis*, and deriveth the name from [אב, or] A B in the *Hebrew* Language, which was poſſibly, but a diſtinct Dialect from the ancient *Egyptian* Tongue, as the *Coptick*, written from the left to the right hand, is but a Dialect of the *Greek*. Now אב doth not only ſignifie a Father, Author, or Inventer; but is alſo attributed to Kings, Princes, and Lords, and is therefore a title not improper either for *Joſeph* or *Moſes*. My Conjecture fetcheth the name of *Apis* from [אביר, or] *Abir*, which ſignifieth ſtrong and valiant, and is uſed by Synechdoche, for an Ox, a creature of ſtrength (*b*): Nay, it imports ſtrength with ſuch Emphaſis, that it is applied to God himſelf (*c*). Upon ſuppoſition that this were right, it ought to be added that the *S* in *Apis*, as in *Mnevis*, *Memphis*, *Serapis*, *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, is from the *Greek*, and not the Original *Egyptian*. But enough of a word concerning the derivation of which we are ſo much in the dark, and likely ſo to continue.

a *Voſſ. de Idol. lib.* c. 29. p. 110, 111, &c.

b Pſal. 22. 13. Pſal. 50. 13. LXX. τῶν ταύρων.

c Gen. 49. 24. *Abir Jaqakob.* In our Tranſlation, the mighty God of *Jacob*.

PART

PART 10.

When the Worſhip of Apis *commenced.*

TOuching the ſubject of the fourth inquiry, the Commencement of the Worſhip of *Moſes* or *Apis*, we muſt ſtill be contented with conjecture.

Much of the fame of *Moſes* could not well arrive at the land of *Egypt* till after his death, the very manner of which might contribute much to his Deification. Of that it appears they had ſome kind of notice, by the ſtory of *Oſiris* (*a*), whoſe body was in vain ſought for, after his ſoul had left it. The relation of this, and of many other particulars in the Wilderneſs, might come to *Egypt*, after the poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, by the Merchants at *Tyre* or *Joppa*, or ſome other ſuch Coaſts as were frequented by *Egyptians*. Their Prieſts having had before them, by ſome ſuch way, the Memorials of this great man, though in a rude and confuſed draught, might thenceforth advance him to the degree of an Heavenly power, and on earth appoint a fit Symbol by which he might be moſt ſolemnly reverenced.

a *Strab. Geogr.* l. 17. p. 803.

This Symbol for many years was but one, the Ox at *Memphis*: but afterwards it was doubled, at *Memphis* the Ox *Apis* was worſhipped, the Ox *Mnevis* at *Heliopolis* (*b*). *Macrobius* (*c*) ſpeaks of a third Ox worſhipped at *Hermuntis* in the Temple of *Apollo*, and called *Pacis*. A name differing very little from *Apis*, it being its plain Anagram after the caſting away of a ſingle letter. But this *Pacis* is miſtaken for *Bacis*, a name by which, as was ſaid already, *Mnevis* was called; and it is no other than *Bacchus* more gently pronounced. So that this third Ox is the ſame in effect with the firſt and ſecond.

b *Plutarch. de Iſ. & Oſir.* p. 364. C. See *D. Marſh. Chron. Can.* p. 59. *Diod.* l. 1. c. 21. p. 19. *Strab.* l. 17. p. 805.

c *Macrob.* l. 1. *Sat.* c. 21. p. 305.

PART II.

Of the Idols Apis *and* Mnevis, *and the Commencement of their Worſhip.*

NOW in anſwer to the laſt Query, I am to ſay ſomething about the time of the diviſion of this Symbol of the Ox. *Egypt*, as a learned (*a*) man obſerveth, was of old divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, of which the firſt (he ſaith) had *Memphis*, the other *Heliopolis* for its chief City. [Though *Heliopolis* be ſaid by *Pliny* (*b*), to have been built by the *Arabians*, and was therefore of no very ancient foundation, compared to *Memphis*. And *Egypt* was naturally divided into three parts, the upper, in which was *Thebes*; the middle, in which was *Memphis*; the lower in which was *Heliopolis*, and now *Cairo*, or *Maſre*, nigh the place where *Heliopolis* once ſtood.]

a D. Marſh. p. 59, 60, &c.

b Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 29. p. 144.

Before the Invaſion of the *Paſtors* there was but one King over all *Egypt*, who would ſcarce have permitted ſo open a faction, and ſo plain an emulation of the glory of his Imperial City. If now I had a mind to make the multiplication of this Idol almoſt equal with that of the diviſion of the Kingdom (a thing no way proved) I would refer this to the times of *Amoſis*, called *Tethmoſis* corruptly by *Joſephus*, and ſuppoſed to be the Contemporary of *Shamgar*. *Amoſis* was that Prince who firſt recovered *Heliopolis* from the *Paſtors*, imagined to be a ſort of *Arab-Egyptians*. He is reputed a *Theban*, and from him *Manetho* begins his order of the *Theban* Kings. He ſet himſelf induſtriouſly to improve *Heliopolis*, and he might grace it in the quality of a Rival of the ancient *Memphis*, which he had not ſuch perſonal reaſon to be fond of. He might on this occaſion ſet up Symbol after Symbol; for one part of his

his care, and a very great one, is ſaid to be Religion. He it was who purged *Heliopolis* of the barbarous cuſtom of ſacrificing men; in the room of which he ſubſtituted three Images of Wax, [the Symbols it may be of *Apis*, in the three places of *Memphis*, *Hermuntis*, and *Heliopolis*; which rendred him properly a three-headed *Pluto*.] What I ſaid of his purging *Heliopolis*, is by *Porphyry* (*a*) related from *Manetho*, who, where he ſpeaks of it, does mention Calves in the plural; for he ſays that men were offered to *Juno*, and proved after the manner of the ſelected, pure, and marked Calves of *Egypt*.

a *Porphyr. de Abſtin.* l. 2. ſect. 55. p. 94.

The truth is, there is little certainty in the ſtory of *Amoſis*, and leaſt of all in the time of it. And I might ſay the like of that of the *Paſtors*. And for the Bulls at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*, I cannot but think them much later than the times of *Jeroboam*. If they had been extant long after; *Herodotus* who knew *Egypt* ſo well, and ſpake ſo often of *Apis* and of *Heliopolis*, whoſe Traditions he went to compare with thoſe of *Memphis* (*b*), could as eaſily have mentioned *Mnevis* too, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch* and *Strabo*, in after-times.

b *Herod. Euter.* p. 101. c. & p. 103.

PART 12.

Whence the Original of Apis *might be obſcured.*

IF now at length a new Queſtion ſhould be ſtarted, and I ſhould be askt by any curious man, how this diſcovery of *Apis* as *Moſes* has not been made before? how it ſhould come to paſs that a Symbol ſo known in *Egypt*, ſhould at length every-where be miſtaken? I would anſwer him thus: The Prieſts of *Egypt* were very reſerv'd in the grounds of their Theology; and they had great opportunity of concealing their Myſte-

ries,

ries, whilst the Priesthood belonged only to some certain Families. Hence *Herodotus* (*a*) is so sparing in his Relation of the state of Religion after inquiry made by him both at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*. And we learn from *Strabo* how very shie the *Egyptians* were of communicating their Arts, much more of their Religion. And he telleth us (*b*) that of the Thirteen years which *Plato* and *Eudoxus* spent at *Heliopolis*, much time was consumed, not so much in learning Astronomy, as in prevailing with the Priests to teach them something of their Mysteries.

a *Herod.* l. 2. p. 101. Τὰ μέν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων ὅτα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέεσθαι, &c.

b *Strab. in* l. 17. *Geog.* p. 806. C.

Also they mixed the names and rites of their Deities; and when the Religion of *Greece* came in with its Arms they quite confounded them. Such confusion in part happened before, for *Cambyses* made alteration in their Rites. And time hath been so injurious to them, through the Invasion of *Arabians*, *Persians* and others; through the burning of the *Ptolomean* Library, and other such accidents, that the very names of their Princes, as well as their Gods, are either perfectly forgotten, or very imperfectly and indistinctly remembred. Their grand Tyrant is to few known by his name, but called *Pharaoh*, a title of Regal power common with him, to the rest of the *Egyptian* Princes. Of them who speak of his name, some call him *Chenephren*, and others, *Chencres*, *Chencheres*, or *Cenchres*; others *Arenasis* (*c*); others, *Bocchoris*; others, *Achernes*; others, *Petisonius*; others, *Tuthmosis*, *Philastrius Thammuz* (*d*).

c See *Heylin. Geog. in Egypt.* p. 934.

d See *Seld. de Diis Syr. Synt.* 2. c. 2. p. 338.

But of this Argument enough, and too much it may be for the men of this Age; in some of which the love of ease, in others the pursuit of the appearances of nature, hath prevented the cultivation of Philology; which howsoever it be now the most neglected, is not the most barren and fruitless part of the field of Learning.

If

If any learned Philologer ſhall think all this a device of fancy, he may pleaſe ſtill to abound in his own ſenſe. There is not a more unjuſt tyranny than the impoſition of Notions upon a free judgment. And for this notion of *Apis* as the ſame with *Moſes*, I propoſe it only as my preſent conjecture, and not in the quality of my fixed perſwaſion. I will not contend about it, or immodeſtly conteſt it with any learned Opponent. I ſhall rather follow the advice of the *Arabians* in that Proverb of theirs (*a*), which forbids me to ſhoot my ſoft Quills at a ſtatue of Iron.

a *Erpen. Prov. Arab.* p. 3.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Idolatry of the Mahometans.

Mahomet was deſcended of the *Koreiſchites*, a Tribe of the *Arabians*. The *Arabians* were great Idolaters (*b*), and it does not appear that he embraced any other Religion for ſome years, than that to which his Education led him. With the *Arabians* then he worſhipped Statues and Dæmons. The Statues of the *Arabians* are thoſe three mentioned in the *Alchoran*, *Allath*, *Alozza*, and *Menath* (*c*), Idols of ſtone. What the two latter were, is not ſo well underſtood; but moſt agree that by the former, or *Allath*, was meant a Deeſs like *Venus*, or *Urania* (*d*). She had alſo among them the name of *Cabar*, or *Cubar* (*e*). *Herodotus* remembreth this *Arabian Urania* by the name of *Alilat*, in his *Thalia* (*f*), though in his *Clio* (*g*) he had called her *Alitta*.

b *De Idol. Arab. vide Abul Faraj. de Orig. & mor. Arab. & not. Pocock.* p. 89, &c.
c *Alkor. Sur.* 51.
d *See Stld. de Dis Syr. Syn.* 2. c. 2. p. 253.
e *Hotting. Hiſt. Oriental.* l. 1. c. 7. *de Rel. vet. Arab.* p. 153.
f *Herod.* l. 3. p. 185. D. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην, Ἀλιλάτ.
g *Id.* l. 1. p. 62. D. Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, Μύλιττα. Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλίττα.

Neither did they worſhip Statues alone, but they worſhipped Dæmons too, of which ſuch Statues were generally the Symbols. There is mention in the *Alcho-*

ran, in *Suratâ Noachi*, of *Vodda*, *Seraha*, *Jaguth*, *Jauk*, *Neſer*. *Beidavi* (a) tells us, that theſe were the names of good men who lived betwixt *Adam* and *Noah*; that after death Images were made of them, that from them a benediction might be obtained; that in proceſs of time they began to be worſhipped. That *Vodda* was repreſented in the figure of a Man; *Seraha* of a Woman; *Jaguth* of a Lion; *Jauk* of a Horſe; *Neſer* of an Eagle; and that this kind of Idolatry was tranſlated to the *Arabians*. Other Authors make mention of their worſhip of *Bacchus*. *Heſychius* calleth him Διονύσος, *Tertullian*, (b) *Diaſares*, or *Diſares*, as it is read in the late Edition of *Paris*. That name may be but the corruption of *Oſiris*, though it is thought to be taken from a mountainous place in *Arabia*, called *Duſares*, and mentioned by *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*.

a Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. p. 156.

b Tertull. in Apolog. ſect. 24. p. 24. Ed. Par. 1664. *unicuiq; etiam Provinciæ & Civitati ſuus Deus eſt, ut Syriæ Aſtartis, ut Arabiæ Diſaris*, &c.

The *Arabians* alſo worſhipped Angels as well as Heroes, calling them Proverbially, *the Daughters of God*. The *Alchoran* chargeth them with this Idolatry, in *Suratâ de Beſtiis*, ſaying, They joined *Genii* (that is Angels) as Companions to God.

Mahomet growing weary of this falſe worſhip, about the fortieth year of his age, and perhaps of all real Religion, invented a new one of his own, which hath grown exceeding rankly ſince the firſt planting of it, as is the manner of many deadly and poyſonous weeds. In this new Religion of his he applaudeth himſelf as the Reſtorer of the Worſhip of one God, and declameth vehemently againſt Idols. And no wonder, for he took to him a *Neſtorian* Monk as his Aſſiſtant, and he was himſelf the Son of a *Jeweſs*, to whoſe Religion he might have ſome reſpect, by reaſon of that Relation, though his mother died too ſoon to inſtil her Principles into him,

This Impoſtor in the *Alcheran* calleth the Gentiles Aſſo-

Aſſociators, [or ſuch as join others with God as ſharers and fellows in his government], becauſe they worſhip Angels and men, in the place of Gods. He giveth the like name to the *Jews*, becauſe of their high veneration for *Ezra*, whom in his uncharitable opinion they had ſet up as the fellow of the Deity. He alſo calleth the Chriſtians Aſſociators, by reaſon of the Trinity which they worſhip: His blaſphemous pride dethroning Chriſt, and ſetting up himſelf as a greater Prophet.

He perpetually inculcated the worſhip of one God; and this is one of the forty conditions on which he promiſed Paradiſe to his Diſciples. "If they bear wit-"neſs, that there is no God but the one ſupreme God, "and that he is his Apoſtle (*a*). His Miniſters when they call the people to prayers, cry *Alla, Achbar Alla*; that is, God, the Higheſt God; not *Alla ova Kubar Alla*, God and *Venus* their Deity, as ſome have imagined (*b*); as if they had worſhipped their Gentile *Allath*, *Cabar* or *Cubar*, after they had become the Diſciples of *Mahomet*. *Elmacinus* (*c*) ſumming up the precepts of *Mahomet*, beginneth in this manner: "*Maho-*"*met* in the forty-fourth year of his age publiſhed his "Call, [his pretended commiſſion from God]; for be-"fore that time he had ſecretly invited the people to "his Religion. In the publication of it, Firſt, he taught "them to believe in God alone. Secondly, to worſhip "and adore him. Thirdly, he deſtroyed the worſhip "of Idols. In the forty-firſt *Surata* of the *Alchoran*, he condemneth the worſhip of Angels. And this worſhip (ſaith *Beidari* (*d*)) he aboliſhed firſt at *Mecca*. For Images he was ſo ſevere againſt the worſhip of them, that he forbad all Statues and Pictures; a Law by which the *Grand Signior* loſeth much glory and ornament in his Empire. He brake in pieces (*e*) with his own hands a wooden Dove found in *Caaba*; he ſent *Chaledus* to deſtroy

a *Mahamed Ben Abibechr*, (who receiv'd as is ſaid, the forty Apothegms of *Mahomet*, from his mouth,) *in Hott. de Pſtud. Mah. Initiol. 2. c. 3. p. 249.*

b *Ap. Soldan. de Dis Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 4. De Veneri Syriac. p. 286, 287.*

c *Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracen. l. 1. c. 1. p. 3.*

d *Ap. Hott. de Rel. vet. Arab. p. 158.*

e *Pocock. in Abul Pharag. p. 98.*

a *Id. Ibid.* p. 91. destroy the Idol *Alozza* (*a*). *Chaledus* pull'd down the house [or Temple], and burnt the Image or Tree with fire. Thence a Dæmoness issued out with great exclamation, and he smote her with his sword; which when he had reported to *Mahomet*, he assured him that that Dæmoness was *Alozza*, whose worship should thenceforth cease.

Notwithstanding all this, his Disciples are accused of a double Idolatry.

First, They are accused as worshippers of their Prophet in the quality of the highest Lieutenant of God. And *Mahomet* himself gave the occasion of this worship, by teaching them this Creed, *That there is one God, and Mahomet his Prophet:* setting himself as it were at Gods right hand. It is most notorious that they pray frequently to him; and they pray not only to him to intercede for them with God, but to give them present assistance by virtue of the commission which he hath received from God. For this it seems is one of their Forms in which they pray for the *Grand Signior* (*b*): "God make you victorious over your "enemies, and may our good Prophet pour down his "blessing into your heart. And in this worship they offend two ways, for they give the honour to *Mahomet* of a power which God hath not bestowed by commission upon him, and which he hath not in himself as he is a creature of his kind. And they give this honour not meerly to an Hero, but to the wicked soul of a vile Impostor.

b *M. Guillet's Voy. to Athens, p.* 165.

Secondly, They are accused as worshippers of the Tomb of their Prophet. I have not read in any good Author that they bow or kneel to it as to an object of worship. And yet I find it said of them by *Cornelius Curtius* (*c*), That they worship the Urn of their Prophet. He (I confess) is not a competent witness, for a little

c *Curt. de Clavis Dominicis. c.* 12. *p.* 131. *Mahumitani Prophetæ sui urnam colunt.*

little before having asserted a *summus cultus*, that is, sure, supreme worship, to be merited by the Nails of the Cross (*a*); he saith of the *Jews*, that they in such manner venerated the rod of *Aaron*, the two Tables of stone, and the Ark of the Covenant. Yet this, methinks, may be pronounced against them as a righteous sentence: That if they expect (as they appear to do) some extraordinary blessing at the Tomb at *Mecha*, by virtue of the commission of their Prophet, and of the *Mahometan* Religion, they exercise a religious trust in that which is a lie; and they are tempted, as often as the event prayed for succeeds their Pilgrimage and Devotion, to give thanks to an Impostor, for whose sake God does not, will not hear them. And such trust and thanks are highly dishonourable to the true God, who dwells not in any Shrine, and delights not in any false Prophet. Such Idolatrous trust some of them seem to put in the Magical coins or gems which are used by them. Many of them are mentioned by *Hottinger* (*b*), and amongst them one which contained the names of twenty *Surata's* in circular form, and a prayer, of which the following words are a part. "Shew me—— "that which is hidden in thy bosom, Oh thou who "art indu'd with majesty and honour.

a *Id. ibid. Ab atq; iterùm aio, Sacratissimos Red. nostri Clavos cultum & tum summum mereri. Itâ Hebræi olim virgam Aaronis,* &c.

b *Hotting. Cipp. Hebr.* p. 150, 151, 152, 153, &c.

I see nothing of moment to be further said by me in this Argument; and therefore I here conclude it. And happy were it for the world if the superstition of *Mahomet* might have as speedy an end. The like may be said of that kind of Idolatry which hath infected many who profess the true or Christian Religion: And that false worship is my next Subject.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Idolatry with which some are charged, who profess and call themselves Christians. And first of the Idolatry of the Gnosticks *and* Manichees.

PART I.

Of the Idolatry of the Gnosticks.

WHen Christ was incarnate, he soon weakned the visible Empire of the Devil, removing his Idols, and putting his Oracles to silence. One of his great designs in coming in the flesh, was to perswade the World to leave Idols, and the Atheism of many gods, as *Maximus* speaketh (*a*). He manifested the one true God in Trinity, declaring that there were three in Heaven, and that they Three were One. He revealed much of the nature of the Dæmons which had been worshipped in the World, and decried them as wicked and malicious spirits. God in him gave to the World the greatest help against the worship of Dæmons and Idols; as shall afterwards be shewed at large, if God permit. His Apostles and followers spake and wrote with zeal against Idols; and God be thanked, not without admirable success. Amongst them was St. *John* the Beloved Disciple. And he having shewn the Son (in one (*b*) of his Epistles) to be the true Image of the Father, and very God of very God, does thence proceed to exclude all other Symbols in this dehortation, *Little children, keep your selves from Idols.* And with that as with advice of moment, and fit to be reserved for

a *Maxim. al. Orig. in Exhort. ad Martyr.* p. 193.—— Καταλιπεῖν τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ τὴν πολυθεοαθεότητα. *Origen. contr. Cels.* l. 1. p. 5. —— Ἀθεοῦ πολυθεότητος.

b 1 Joh. 5. 20, 21.

for a word to take leave with, he cloſeth his Epiſtle. Idols alſo were with zeal declaimed againſt, after him by divers Chriſtians; of whom ſome were converted *Jews*, who had lived under an expreſs Law againſt Images; and others were converted Gentiles, who bent themſelves quite another way from their former Rites. And theſe expreſſed their deteſtation of Idols in ſuch ſevere manner, that they looked upon Statuaries and Painters as men of unlawful Callings.

Others there were Chriſtians by profeſſion, who though they worſhipped not (unleſs by fear or ſtealth, as *Epiphanius* (*a*) noteth), the ſame Statues and Deities with the Gentiles; yet did they ſet up afreſh an Idolatrous worſhip, which was in truth but diſguiſed Heatheniſm. Such were the Scholars of *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Saturninus*, *Baſilides*, *Carpocrates*, or according to *Epiphanius*, *Carpocras*; *Valentinus*, *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, *Secundus*, *Ptolomæus*, *Marcus*, *Colorbaſus*, *Heracleon*, *Lucian*, *Apelles*, and very many others, who from their arrogant boaſting of a τρόπον, or ſublime and extraordinary ſort of knowledg, obtained the name of *Gnoſticks*. Theſe I will conſider as worſhippers, firſt of Dæmons, and ſecondly, of Images.

a *Epiphan. Hær.* 27.

The worſhip of Dæmons they learned from the Cabala of *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*. It was the Dogma of *Menander*, and after him of *Saturninus*, that (*b*) this outward World was made by Angels; that is, that it was framed and compoſed by thoſe Encoſmical gods formerly mentioned, and ſpoken of by *Salluſt* the *Platoniſt*. *Alcinous* a Diſciple of the ſame School, in his Introduction to the Philoſophy of *Plato* (*c*), profeſſeth the ſame Doctrines. He teacheth it as a Dogma of his Maſter, That God did not properly make, but rather adorn and excite the Soul of the World, awakening it as it were out of its profound inactivity: that thenceforth

b *S. Aug. Cat. Hæreſ.* c. 2. p. 6, 7. & c. 3. p. 8, 9.

c *Alcin. de Doctr. Plat.* c. 14. p. 35.

forth (as an awakened man who ſtretcheth out his arms) it extended it ſelf far and near, and joined and conſerved (*a*) the whole of Nature. And to this eternal Soul of the World, a principle which in ſome ſort comprehended in it the inferior Angels, the *Gnoſticks* perhaps alluded in their πλήρωμα, or fulneſs of the Godhead, to which St. *Paul* oppoſeth the true principle, by which God made all things, his eternal co-eſſential Son. Beyond the Dæmons *Alcinous* doth not extend the care of God, but ſetteth them as his Sons (*b*) over other things. And he aſcribeth the formation of Animals, and even of man himſelf, to Junior Dæmons (*c*).

Baſilides was an *Alexandrian* where the *Pythagorean* Cabala had gotten deep footing; and it appeareth by the Errors of *Origen*, that the very preaching of St. *Mark* had not worn out the prints of it. Some of them are eaſily diſcerned in the writings of that Father, and eſpecially in his Book which hath the Title of Περὶ ἀρχῶν: *Baſilides* enjoin'd ſilence to them to whom his Myſteries were revealed (*d*), both in imitation of the ſilence in the School of *Pythagoras*, and as a means to avoid the trouble which might ariſe by the more open publication of them.

Carpocrates and *Valentinus*, both of them were profeſſed *Pythagorean Platoniſts*. *Valentinus* placeth his *Bythus*, or Profundity, and *Siges*, or Silence, as the firſt conjugation of his πλήρωμα, or Fullneſs. And by this he might mean the Soul of the World awakened out of that deep inactivity, which juſt now we heard of in the *Jargon* of *Alcinous*.

Marcion expreſly maintained the two Principles of *Pythagoras*; and he taught that they were diſtinct, and without beginning, and infinite (*e*).

These Hereticks worſhipped a Deity under the myſtical name of *Abraxes*, [or *Abraſax*, according to the in-

a *Alcin. Ib.* p. 35, 36.—— Συνδεῖν τε καὶ συνέχειν.——

b *Id. ib.* c. 15. p. 38.—Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ ἐγκύκλιοι παῖδες ἡγοῦνται.——

c *Id. ib.* c. 16. p. 39, &c.

d *Iren.* l. 1. c. 23. p. 120.

e *Orig. Dial. cont. Marc.* Sect. 2. p. 43.

inſcription (*a*) on ſome *Baſilidian* Gems.] This name, ſome think, they took up with reſpect to the impoſition of that of *Abraham*. By it they underſtood a ſupreme Power, and ſeven ſubordinate Angels, the Preſidents of the ſeven Heavens, together with their three hundred and ſixtyfive Virtues, anſwering to the number of the days of the year; and by *Baſilides* in *Epiphanius*, ſet over ſo many members of the body of man.

By the name as one word they underſtood their one Deity, and under it the Eighth Sphere, which the *Platoniſts* called the higheſt Power, by which all things were circumſcribed (*b*). By the ſeven Letters of that one word they underſtood the ſeven Angels, and under them the ſeven Orbs. And therefore *Gaſſendus* (if the Printer hath not injured him) committeth a miſtake (*c*) in writing it *ABRSAX*, as ſometimes he doth. He ſpoileth their Myſtery by the diminution of one Letter. Such injury the Engravers have done them in their Gems, unleſs they deſigned by falſe Letters to render them ſtill more myſterious (*d*). By the Numeral Powers of their ſeven Letters in *Greek* (they amounting to the ſum of 365 days), they underſtood the aboveſaid Virtues, Members, and Days of the Year (*e*). St. *Auſtin* in his Catalogue of Hereſies, ſeems in this matter to commit a miſtake (*f*), for he repreſenteth *Baſilides* as one that held, 365 Heavens, and affirmed them to be the makers of this World. Whereas *Baſilides* and *Saturninus* aſcribed ſuch power to the ſeveral Virtues of the ſeven Angels (*g*). St. *Hierom* (*h*) judged that this *Abraxas* was the Sun, or the *Mithra* of the *Perſians*, becauſe its Annual courſe doth make up the aboveſaid number of days. But a good Reaſon ought to weigh down his Authority; and there is a reaſon ſufficient to perſwade us that they meant ſome

a See *Pigii Menſ. Iſiac.* p. 93.

b *Alcin.* c. 14. p. 38. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ὂν ἀνωθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀγδοάδος περιεχόμενον βλέπεται.

c *Gaſſend. in vitâ Peireſkii.* l. 1. p. 16. *Ed. Hagæ-Com.* 1655.

d See the *Baſil.* Gem in *Capeti Harpocr.* p. 14. ABPACA.... ZCIGI. If the disjoin'd Z belongs not to the firſt word: for *Sigi* needs it not.

e See *Epiphan. Hær.* 24. and *Hær.* 26. *Theod. de Hær. fab.* l. 1. *in Baſilid. Et Iren.* l. 1. c. 34. p. 134, 135.

f *S. Aug. Cat. Hær.* c. 4 p. 10, 11.

g *Id. ibid.* c. 3. *in Saturnino.* p. 9.

h *S. Hier. Tom.* 6. p. 99.

other supreme God. For in the seven Spheres they included the Sun as one of the Planets, and therefore did not intend him as the Deity that was above *Saturn* himself, but their Δημιουργὸς, or *Logos* (*a*), or Artist of all, or Ἰάω himself. For he in *Epiphanius* (*b*) possesseth the place of the highest Orb. And in many of the *Basilidian* Gems, particularly in that in the custody of *Baronius* (*c*), that name of Ἰάω is inscribed; though the *Omega* be misrepresented in the form of a *W*.

a *Iren.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 88.
b *Epiphan. Her.* 36.
c *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 2. p. 72.

They who consider this Systeme of their Deities will be apt to think them those *Cœlicolæ* which the Emperours condemned; their Religion being a sort of Astrological Magick.

Now this their worship of the Heavens or Angels, came (as I said) from the Schools of *Thales* and *Plato*; together with some tinctures from the Heathen Poets, and particularly from *Hesiod* in his Θεογονία. But the Systeme of it was much further enlarged, and varied also with Mystical signs and interpretations. And they ran a kind of Enthusiastick descant upon a more natural or Geometrical ground. He that fixeth his attention on the *Platonick* Scheme of the World, observing the several proportions which *Plato* fancied in the adjusting of its parts when it was first framed: He that reads in *Timæus Locrus* (*d*), of the hundred and fourteen thousand, six hundred ninety and five divisions of the Soul of the World; and in *Alcinous* (*e*) of the Octoedral, Icosaedral, Duodecaedral figures in the composing of the Universe: He that readeth further in *Irenæus* (*f*) of the Principle called πλήρωμα, or the Divine fulness, and of the Quaternations, Octonations, Decads, Dodecads, and numberless Conjugations of the Æons of the *Gnosticks*, who began their Fancies very early, though the Scheme of them was successively varied, as likewise the very wording of it, the *Simonians* changing

d *Timæus Locr. de An. Mundi*, p. 7.
e *Alcin. de Doct. Plat.* c. 13. p. 31, &c.
f *Irenæus adv. Her.* l. 1. c. 1. p. 1, &c. c. 12. p. 85, &c. l. 2. c. 24. p. 178, &c. c. 38. p. 190.

ging their Masters φωνὴ into St. *John's Logos* (*a*), after his Gospel became publick; such a one will guess without the gift of Prophesie, what Doctrines did set their imaginations on work. He will not wonder that the Disciples of *Simon Magus* worshipped in private the Image of *Pythagoras* (*b*). They will not think it strange that the *Valentinians* in *Irenæus* called their first *Tetrad*, the *Pythagorick Tetractys*.

Celsus mistaketh these *Gnosticks* for true Christians, and compareth (*c*) their Mystical scale of things with that of the *Mithriacs*, or *Persian* Divines. *Origen* (*d*) supposeth those whom he pointeth at to be the Sect of the *Ophians*, a kind of spawn of the *Gnosticks*. And he mentioneth a Diagram of theirs (*e*) which had fallen into his hands; and in which they described the Soul of the World penetrating all things, under the name of *Leviathan*. If that Diagram had been preserved, it might have been compared with other *Pythagorick* and Magick Systemes; and a Torch might have been lighted from it, for further discoveries of that nature than can now be made. For the *Ophites* they were manifest Idolaters, worshipping a living Serpent for Christ (*f*). And the *Gnosticks* were no better whilst they worshipped their Angels as Rulers of the World. Hence *Marcus* the *Gnostick* is reproached expressly in *Irenæus* (*g*), after the mention of the *Æons*, as a maker of Idols. Neither is St. *Hierom* of another mind; for on the third Chapter of *Amos* thus he discourseth: "Every "Heretick feigneth what pleaseth himself, and then he "worshippeth his own fiction. Thus did *Marcion* with "his idle Deity, *Valentinus* with his thirty *Æons*, *Ba-* "*silides* with his god *Abraxas* (*h*).

As these were the sink of Hereticks, so were they the principal of Idolaters, giving to the Devil himself by way of honour, the title of Cosmocrator (*i*), or

a See *Doctiss. Vind. Epist. S. Ignatii*, par. 2. c. 6. p. 59, &c. p. 70, &c.

b *S. Aug. de Hær.* c. 7. p. 22. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 24. p. 122, 123.

c *Cels. ap. Orig.* l. 6. p. 290.

d *Orig. contr. Cels. ib* p. 291.

e *Id. ib.* p. 292.

f See *Epiphan. Hær.* 37.

g *Iren.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 88. Εἰδωλοποιὸς μάρκος, &c.

h *S. Hieron.* Tom. 6. op. p. 99.

i *Iren.* l. 1. c. 1. p. 24. See *Feuardent. Annot.* p. 47.

or Ruler of this World: As if he had been such by the Commission of that *Demiourgus*, whose creature (they say) he was, and not by the consent of wicked men.

Idolaters then they were in the first place, with respect to the Dæmons whom they worshipped. And in the second place I am inclined to think them such with respect to the Images of their Deitie and his Dæmons. Some such things were the Gems (*a*) of the *Basilidians*, preserved till these late times. *Joseph Scaliger* had one of them in his possession (*b*), and the excellent *Peireskius* very many (*c*). Amulets they were (*d*), and Symbols too of their Deities, whose names of *Abraxas*, *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Ouriel*, *Raphael*, *Ananael*, *Prosoraiel*, *Yabsoe* (*e*), (names of their god, and their seven Angels the Presidents of their seven Heavens) were inscribed on them, together with the Figures of Men, Beasts, Fowls, Plants, Stars; the Schemes of which may be seen in *Pignorius* (*f*). *Abraxas* is represented with humane body, with buckler and whip, or sword in hand, as Ensigns of Power; and with Serpents, as feet. Of a like abuse of Magical Gems the *Jews* and *Mahometans* themselves have been guilty (*g*). And what are such Gems but Idols, when there is an expectation from them of supernatural virtue, which God hath not communicated to them?

Irenæus reporteth of the *Gnosticks* (*h*), that they had Pictures and Images, and particularly one of Jesus made by *Pilate*; also that they crown'd them and set them with the Images of *Pythagoras*, *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and other Gentile Philosophers, observing or worshipping them after the manner of the Heathens. The like is said by *Epiphanius* in his Twenty-seventh Heresie; and

a See *Joh. Matar. de Gemmis Basilid. cum Commentar. Joh. Chiffletii*, 4. *Antv.* 1657.

b See *Epist.* 119. to *Is. Casaub.*

c *Gassend. in vitâ Peir.* l. 1. p. 16.

d See the Charm of *Q. Serenus Sammonicus* a Disci. of *Basil. in Baron. Annal.* Tom. 2. A. C. 120. p. 72, 73.

e Consider well what is said (*in Marian. ap. Card. Raspon. de Basil. Later.* l. 2.) of the original of the Popes *Agnus Dei's*: The Masons digging in the *Vatican*, found a Lamb of Wax in a Golden Case, on which these words were engrav'd, *Maria nostra florentissima, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael* Archangel, & *Uriel. Simon*, it seems, hath been at *Rome*.

f *Pignor. de Mensâ Isiacâ*, p. 92.

g See *Hotting. Cipp. Hebraïc.* p. 138, 150, &c.

h *Iren. adv. Her.* l. 1. c. 24. p. 122, 123.

by

by *Theodoret*, in his first Book of Heretical Fables, where he informeth us, that *Simon*'s Statue was like to that of *Jupiter*'s, and *Helen*'s like to that of *Minerva*'s; and that they were worshipped with Sacrifice and Incense. The same is written by St. *Austin* (*a*), who further mentions (*b*) the Idolatry of *Marcellina*, one of that Sect, who worshipped together with the Images before remembred, the Statue of *Homer*. I will end this Discourse of the Idolatry of the *Gnosticks*, with the following words of the very learned Mr. *Thorndike* (*c*). "For the Idolatry of the *Gnosticks* (which I am confi-"dent is mentioned in divers Texts of the new Testa-"ment) it may well be counted the Idolatry of the "Pagans, though pretending to be Christians. Because "they did not stick to exercise the same Idolatry when "occasion was offered; though they had their own "Idolatries besides; whether peculiar to their several "Religions, or as Magicians.

a *S. Aug. Cat. Hær.* c. 1. p. 1.
b *Id. ibid.* c. 7. p. 22. *de Carpocr.*
c Mr *Thorndike*'s just weights and measures, c. 2. p. 10.

PART 2.

Of the Idolatry of the Manichees.

With the *Gnosticks* I will join the *Manichees*, both agreeing in obscene Superstitions (*d*), and in the worship of the principal evil Dæmon; and both being branches from the same Magical Trunk of *Pythagorean* Philosophy. *Cubricus* or *Manes* took the occasion of his Heresie from his Marriage with the Widow of *Terbinthus*, who died in exercising his Magical Tricks. *Terbinthus*, who also disguis'd himself in *Persia* under the name of *Budda*, deriv'd his folly from his Master *Scythianus* a *Saracen* in *Egypt*. *Scythianus* was learned in the Writings of the *Grecians*, and wrote four Books of *Pythagorean* Magick. And *Lucas Holstenius* rightly observeth (*e*), that the twofold συστοιχία of the

d *Leo Max. Ser.* 2. *de Fest. Pent.* Sect. 6. p. 75. *Manichæus — magister falsitatis diabolicæ & conditor superstitionis obscænæ*, &c.
e *Lucus Holst. de vitâ & Script. Porphyr.* p. 9.

the *Pythagoreans* which comprehendeth [τὰς ἀντικειμένας τῶν ἑνοποιῶν καὶ διακριτικῶν δυνάμεων συζυγίας], the contrary combinations of the principles of unity and division, was the root of the two contrary *Manichæan* Powers. These *Pythagoras* learned from the *Egyptians*, who besides a good principle own'd *Typhon* (called also *Seth*, *Bebon*, and *Smy*) a principle of Evil and Tyranny.

For *Manes*, he strain'd the conceit of the *Pythagorean* Soul of the World to such a degree of extravagance, that he plac'd a perceptive spirit, (as *Epiphanius* noteth) in every Creature. He would not so much as break his Bread, or cut a Pot-herb, though he had cruelty enough to eat them. For certainly if Bread were still alive after grinding and baking, it remained so in the broken pieces of it. But how wild a flight does mans fancy take, when it moves it self only upon its own wings!

I do not recall any passage in History which sheweth concerning this monstrous Heretick, that he either prayed or sacrificed to this principle of evil. If he did neither, he yet made an Idol of it by exalting it in his mind, to that undue supremacy. And on the other hand, he turned the Author of all good into another Idol. For as we are instructed by *Theodoret* in his first Book of Heretical Fables, he confined that Principle to three quarters of the World, bestowing the Southern parts upon Matter, the dark Principle, or the Devil. He likewise sacrilegiously robbed God of that part of his Providence which dispenseth righteous judgments. Further, as the same *Theodoret* relateth, he sometimes called the Sun and Moon his Deities. Sometimes he called the Sun, Christ; and prov'd it as Enthusiasts prove their Dreams, by the Eclipse it suffered at his Crucifixion. Sometimes he maintained them to be two Ships which conveyed the Souls which depart hence,

from Matter to Light. With reason then did St. *Austin* (*a*) thus confess his *Manichæan* impiety; "My vain "fantasm and my error was [then] my God. But of the *Gnostick* and *Manichæan* extravagance enough. I I come in the next place to speak of people much more sober, and yet not without a mixture of madness.

a *S. Aug.* l. 4. *Confess.* c. 7. *Vanum Phantasma & error meus, erat Deus meus.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Idolatry with which the Arians *and* Socinians *are charged.*

PART I.

THE Honour of God under Christianity can be by none secured but by such who acknowledg the Godhead of his Son. The Gentiles not understanding this truth, but looking upon Christ as in the flesh, without any Personal union of it to a subsistence in the Godhead, reproached the Christians for their worship of him. And they made this to be the cause why the Heavenly Powers were angry with them, (as they judged) and afflicted them with persecution; because they put up daily prayers to one that had been a man, and one that died on a Cross (*b*); though the objection held against their *Hercules*, and many other of their Deities, who once were men, and died in pain and shame (*c*). What else was *Æsculapius* whom their *Jove* (themselves confessing it) smote with his Thunder (*d*)? Had they known Christ to have been a Divine person incarnate, they would have worshipped him themselves, and own'd him as the only substitute whom the Father could have so used without diminution of the Divine honour. Hence St. *Paul* maketh the confessing of Jesus to

b *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 1. p. 19. 20, —— *Quod hominem natum,* &c. *Quotidianis supplicat. adoratis:*

c *Arnob. Ib.* p. 20. —— *Quinam sunt hi dii* —— &c. —— *Hercules* —— *flammis concrematus Oëtæis.*

d *Orig. contr. Cels.* l. 3. p. 123. καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ὡς κεραυνῷ βληθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτῶν.

to be the ſupreme Lord, to whom all things in Heaven and Earth, and under the Earth are to do obeiſance, to be a duty that promoteth the glory of God the Father (*a*).

a Phil. 2. 10, 11.

This glory the *Arians* and *Socinians* are ſaid to diminiſh; and they are the perſons whom I am next to conſider.

Arius the *Lybian*, a Prieſt of *Alexandria* is accuſed by the Fathers, both as an Heretick, and as an Idolater; and his Idolatry is charged upon him as the juſt conſequence of his Heretical opinion. And *Irenæus* hath obſerved concerning moſt Hereſies (*b*), "That "the maintainers of them do acknowledg one God, "yet by their corrupt mind do ſo alter the notion of "him, that they become ungrateful to him that made "them, as did the Gentiles by their Idolatry. *Arius* heated by the Diſpute betwixt Biſhop *Alexander* and himſelf, maintained at length with obſtinacy and uproar, that Chriſt had a beginning of his exiſtence: That there was a time when he was not, though he was before the world: That he was not (what *Origen* or *Maximus* (*c*) called him) the [λόγος ἐμφυτος, or] Conſubſtantial Word of the Father: That he was therefore not the one Deity, the God of *Iſrael*, but a made or created God: And that the Father, or true God, did by him, as by his inſtrument create all other things. *Servetus*, if I well remember his opinions, was a man yet much more extravagant than *Arius*, for he conceived Chriſt to be a Divine Light (*d*) which God uſed as his Inſtrument in making the World; and his fleſh to be made out of the very ſubſtance of God (*e*). And by that which I have ſeen of his, I judg him fitter to have been chained up as a mad-man than burnt as an Heretick. *Arius* had his flaws too, but with much more conſiſtence. He having thus degraded Chriſt into the condition of a

b *Iren.* l. 1. c. 19. p. 114.

c *Maxim. in Dial. contr. Marcion.* ſect. 1. p. 3. See *Socr. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 1. c. 5, 6. p. 9, 10, &c. *Ed. Valeſ. & Sozom. H. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 15. p. 425.

d *M. Serv.* l. 2. *de Trin.* p. 87.

e *Servet. Reſp. ad Artic. Joh. Calvini ad Art.* 9. p. 221. *Planè dico carnem Chriſti de cœlo eſſe ſecundum eſſentiam Deitatis.* *Id. de Trin.* l. 2. p. 87. *Non ſolum in Animâ ſed & in carne Chriſti eſt ſubſtantialis Deitas.*

crea-

creature, was for that reaſon condemned as an Heretick. And becauſe he ſtill worſhipped Chriſt with Divine incommunicable honour, he was alſo accuſed of Idolatry. Amongſt his Accuſers (*a*) *Athanaſius* is one of the principal, and he is frequent and earneſt in his declamations againſt him.

In his firſt Oration againſt the *Arians* (*b*), there is a diſcourſe which appertaineth to the preſent occaſion; and this is the meaning of it: "The Apoſtle rebuketh "the Gentiles for worſhipping the Creation (*c*), ſay- "ing, *That they ſerved the Creature beſides* [or, as the "Tranſlator renders it (*d*), *before*] *God* (*e*) *the Crea-* "*tor*. And theſe [to wit, the *Arians*] affirming of the "Lord that he is a creature, and ſerving him [or gi- "ving him (*f*) *Latria*] as a creature, how differ they "from the Gentiles? How can it be, if ſo they think, "that the accuſation of St. *Paul* before cited ſhall not "alſo appertain unto them?

Such again is his diſcourſe in his fourth Oration (*g*), and this is the ſcope of it: "If there be not ſuch a *Lo-* "*gos* [or, co-eſſential Word] as we ſpeak of; if, from "not being it came into being, and was made a crea- "ture; it is either not true God (ſeeing 'tis in the "number of created Beings); or, if by the power of "Truth in Scripture they are forced to confeſs it to "be true God, then they acknowledg two Deities, the "one the Creator, the other a Creature: Then ſerve "they two Maſters, the one uncreated, the other crea- "ted: Then have they two Creeds, one in which "they profeſs to believe the true God, the other in "which they own a Deity made and formed by them- "ſelves, and called God. It further of neceſſity fol- "loweth, that whilſt in this blind manner they wor- "ſhip the uncreated God, they contend againſt him "that is created; and that [on the other hand] whilſt "they

a See *Procl. Epiſcop. C. P. ad Armen. de Fid.* p. 24, &c.

b *Athanaſ. Or.* 1. *cont. Arian.* p. 296. B.

c ὅτι κτίσμα σέβουσι, uſing promiſcuouſly Worſhip and *Latria*.

d *Servirunt creaturæ præ quàm Creatori.*

e For *Athan.* reads it, τὸν κύριον Θεὸν, though Θεὸν be not in our Copies of the N. T.

f Λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ, &c.

g *Athan. Or.* 4. *cont. Arian.* Tom. 1. p. 468, 469.

"they turn to the Creature, they forget the Creator.
"For it is not poſſible, by reaſon of the different na-
"tures and powers of theſe two, to diſcern the one in
"the other. They therefore who are of this opinion,
"do plainly join [or confound] many Gods together.
"For this is the wickedneſs of them who depart from
"one God. Why then do not the *Arians* whilſt they
"are of the ſame mind, number themſelves among the
"*Greeks* [or Gentiles]? for they as well as theſe wor-
"ſhip the Creature above [or beſides] God who crea-
"ted all things. But they in order to the circumven-
"ting of the ſimple, avoid the name of Gentile (*a*),
"yet are of the ſame mind with them. For that com-
"mon Sophiſm of theirs, *We profeſs not Two Uncrea-*
"*ted*, is plainly a deluſion of the vulgar. For whilſt
"they ſay, they do not maintain two Uncreated, they
"ſet up two Deities: Two of a different nature, one
"Uncreated, and one Created. Now if the Heathens
"worſhip one uncreated Deity, and many created ones;
"and theſe [*Arians*] one uncreated, and one created;
"neither is there in that reſpect any great difference
"betwixt them and the Heathens; whilſt he that is
"thought by them to be created, is one of the multi-
"tude of the Heathen-gods; and the Heathen-gods
"are of the ſame [finite] nature with that one of
"theirs, and in like manner Creatures. The like Argu-
ment is maintained by this Father in that ſhort Orati-
on againſt the *Arians*, which we find about the begin-
ning of his ſecond Volume (*b*). But the Tranſcription
of every thing of this nature which occurreth in his
Works, would be a burthen both to the Reader and
my ſelf; and a burthen ſo much the heavier, becauſe
the ſame ſenſe is repeated ſo very often, though in va-
riety of phraſe.

(*a*) ὄνομα τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, which the Tranſlator has improperly rendred, *Vocabulum Æthnicorum.*

(*b*) S. *Athanaſ.* p 22. Tom. 2. B.

The charge of Idolatry has been likewiſe drawn up againſt

against the *Socinians*, called the Modern *Arians*, the *Ariano*-Baptists (*a*), and the *Arians* of *Poland*. Both *Arians* and *Socinians* herein consent, that they deny the natural Divinity of Christ, though in other Doctrines they differ very widely; and very much in their explication of that opinion in which they principally agree. For *Arius* maintained the præexistence of the *Logos* (*b*) before the foundation of the World; whilst *Socinus* dateth the very being of Christ from the Conception of the Virgin. Some *Arians* maintained a likeness in the substance of Christ to that of Gods; though others called him [ἑτερούσιον,] one of a different substance. *Sandius* (*c*) thinketh that *Arius* himself believed the Son and Spirit to be specifically ὁμοούσια with the Father. That is his mistake, and it is not the only one which he has committed. We read otherwise of him in *Socrates* the Historian. In him *Alexander* (*d*) reporteth this to be the Dogma of *Arius*, that Christ was not ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν τῷ πατρί. Also that the Son of God had liberty of sinning. This latter he might sometimes speak, when the heat of disputation inclined him to rave. But it was his fixed opinion, that the Essence of God was perfectly invisible; and that the Essence of the Son was visible, being created [though in that he erred too, no spirit being so, nor the essence of the grossest body]; and consequently that his Essence was not of the same species with that of the Father (*e*). Generally the *Arians* held it to be an Angelical, rather than a Divine nature. But *Socinus* doth degrade it further still, and will have Christ be a mere man, or innocent Prophet. And how wide soever the distance was betwixt *Alexander* or *Athanasius*, and the Heretick *Arius*; yet of this I am confident that they would all have joined, had that new Scheme of pretended Christianity been then extant, in suppressing or burning the

c *Polon. Consens. in Corp. Confess.* p. 230.

d *Alex. Alexandriæ Episc. in Gelas. Hist. conc. Nicæn.* p. 145. —— δὲ ἡμᾶς γὰρ πεποίηται, ἵνα ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς δι' ὀργάνου κτίσῃ ὁ Θεὸς, &c.

c *Christ. Sand.* l. 1. *Hist. Eccl. Enucl.* p. 219. Ed. 1.

d *Socrat.* l. 1. *Eccl. Hist.* c. 6. p. 11.

e See *Hilar. de Syn. Advers. Arianos*, p. 359, 360, &c.

Racovian Catechiſm. *Arius* had much the better Creed, *Socinus* ſomewhat the better temper, and the greater command over his paſſions. But both have much diſturbed the Chriſtian Church, and both have been accuſed of Hereſie, Schiſm, and Idolatry.

That this laſt crime was charged on *Arius*, hath been ſhewed already. And I will further ſhew that *Socinus* alſo hath been accuſed of it. This being done, I will then conſider of the juſtice of the charge, with reſpect both to *Arius* and *Socinus*.

When I ſpeak of the Idolatry of the *Arians* and *Socinians*, I mean not the worſhip of Statues, or of Dæmons; unleſs the *Logos*, as they have faſhioned him, be to be reputed as one of them: For moſt true is that ſaying of St. *Auſtin* (*a*) in his Queſtions on *Joſhuah*: "Whoſoever feigneth in his mind ſuch a God as is not "God, the ſame carrieth in his heart a ſtrange and "falſe God. And this I have called negative Idolatry, in the definition of that falſe worſhip.

a *Quiſquis talem cogitat Deum qualis non eſt, alienum & falſum Deum corde ſuo portat.*

The *Socinians* are ſo far from the worſhip of Hero's, their Chriſt excepted, that they maintain the ſleep of the Soul; and *Brenius* ſome-where maketh its Dormitory ſome Particle of the Blood. The Author of the little Book called *Diſquiſitio Brevis* (*b*), propoſeth the Doctrine of the Souls Inſenſibility as a means of removing thoſe of Purgatory, and of the Invocation of Saints. And for the practice which conformeth it ſelf to this latter Doctrine, he calleth it a *very wicked Idolatry*. In that crime if they offend, it is upon their account of the Invocation of Chriſt; whilſt from a God they have changed him into a Saint of the higheſt order. And this is the Particular wherein *Socinus* is accuſed by *Franciſcus Davidis*, who having ſwallow'd the firſt error, which rejecteth the Eſſential Divinity of Chriſt, did in purſuance of it (for one falſe way does miſlead

b *Diſquiſ. Brev. c. 8. p. 41. Credunt [Evangelici] ipſi mortuos vivere. Eo nimirum modo, quo Petrum, Paulum, alioſq; demortuos in Cœlis vivere aſſerunt; hoc autem fundamentum eſt, non tantum Purgatorii, ſed & neſandæ iſtius Idololatriæ quæ in ſanctorum demortuorum invocatione apud Pontificios cernitur.*

miſlead to many others) deny the lawfulneſs of his worſhip. And though *Socinus* hath againſt him very firmly proved the lawfulneſs of adoring Chriſt, yet for his conſequence [that Chriſt being but a Creature by eſſence, is not to be worſhipped as they pretend to adore him], he hath only evaded the force of it by the ſubtlety of his wit: A wit ſo able to turn it ſelf into all ſhapes and figures (*a*), that it could ſcarce be held faſt by demonſtration it ſelf.

a See *Socin. de Invocat. Chriſti*, in vol. 2. oper. p. 713, &c. and his Diſput. with *Chriſtian. Franken.* p. 367.

PART 2.

Of the Idolatry of the Arians.

WE ſee then that the *Arians* both ancient and modern have been accuſed as Idolaters. But becauſe every man would be guilty if accuſation were a crime; it will in the next place be a piece of juſtice, to inquire into the grounds upon which the Accuſers uſually proceed. And here I will firſt conſider apart, the things with which they are ſeverally charged; and then thoſe things together in which they are together blamed; and declare the grounds and reaſons on which they are in all theſe reſpects condemned.

That which ſeemeth to me in this point criminal in the *Arians*, and not in the *Socinians*, is the worſhip of Chriſt as Creator of the World. They took thoſe places of Scripture which aſcribe to the Son of God the making of the Univerſe, as they plainly ſound; and either wanted ſuch confidence as the *Socinians*, or rather ſuch Grammatical ſubtlety, by which they wreſted them to a very different ſenſe. The places of Scripture which I mean, are ſuch as theſe: *All things were made* (b) *by* [*the Word*], *and without him was not any thing made that was made. Chriſt is the Image of the inviſible God* (c), *the firſt-born of every Creature. For in* [*or by*] *him*

b Joh. 1. 3.

c Col. 1. 15, 16, 17.

him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible; whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers. All things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist. These words, together with all other places of a like nature, the *Socinians* do industriously and violently draw to a scope, at which they were never aimed (*a*). It is true that the aim of St. *Paul* in the place now cited, has not been so particularly and critically discerned by some of the most Catholick Commentators. But in general all of them well understood that these Expressions, [*The Worlds; Things visible and invisible; all things that were made; things in Heaven, and things on Earth*], were such as no *Jews* or Christians commonly used, in speaking of the founding the Christian Church, and making the new world of the Gospel. And where it is said, *That every house is built by some man, but he that built all things is God* (*b*); there to interpret it after this fashion, of Gods revealing the Christian Oeconomy, as they may if they please; (for the same Key may serve for all such places), is an absurd Comment which hath no need of confutation. But with them, who have denied first the Satisfaction of Christ, and for the sake of that error, his Divinity; and then for the sake of that second error, his Præexistence and Creative power; The beginning of the *Logos* is at the beginning of the Gospel; and the Creation of all things is the new Creation in Evangelical truth and righteousness; how harshly soever these Interpretations sound to the ears of the Judicious. Why go they not on, and say, that God is called the Creator of *Israel*, and therefore may mean the first words of the Book of *Genesis* of that people, and not of the Material World? Why do not they Comment in this manner on the words in the *Acts*, God

a *Comp. Socin.* c. 1. Sect. 7. p. 53. —— *Creatio* —— *Christo tribuitur.*

Resp. *Illic agi de secundâ, non de primâ rerum creatione*, h. e. *Mundi Innovatione, quoad Religionem & Regnum Christi.*

b Heb. 3. 4.

God that made the World (a), *and all things therein*, [that is, the Goſpel with all its appurtenancies], *ſeeing that he is Lord of Heaven and Earth*, [that is, of the new Evangelical Heaven and Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs], *dwelleth not in Temples made with hands.*

a Act. 17. 24.

They err who think the Apoſtle in that place to the *Coloſſians*, did in Allegorical manner allude to *Moſes*. No, he plainly oppoſeth himſelf to *Gnoſticiſm*, which was then on foot, though put afterwards into many new dreſſes; and to the *Simonian* Scheme of the world, more like to that of *Pythagoras* than that of *Moſes*; though *Moſes* has been thought to *Platonize*, as ſome ſpeak; which to me does not ſo plainly appear from the words he has left us. St. *Paul* calleth Chriſt, *the* [εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, or] *Image of God, and the* [πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, the] *firſt-born of every creature*; not thereby affirming, that Chriſt was not very God but his firſt creature of a different ſubſtance; but oppoſing him to [the εἰκόνες, and to the ἀρχὴ] the Images and the Beginning of the *Platonick Simonians* (*b*). He therefore ſeems to me to ſpeak to this effect. "You boaſt of I "know not what *firſt-borns* and *Beginnings*, which "created other things. Behold here the true Firſt-born "and Beginning, who indeed made the World. [Thus *Ignatius* (*c*) oppoſeth to the Δημιουργὸς of the *Gnoſticks*, the Son of God; affirming that there was one God of the Old and New Teſtament, and one Mediator betwixt God and Men, εἷς τὸ δημιουργίαν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ πρόνοιαν πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον, for the creating and governing of all things: and thoſe who believe otherwiſe, he in the following Page condemneth as the Diſciples of *Simon Magus*.] The Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, mentioned in the next Verſe, are in like manner oppoſed to the Principles or Angels, which

b See of the *Gnoſtic* Ἀρχὴ *Iren.* l. 1. c. 1. & c. 10. p. 76. and of the ἀρχαὶ of *Megethius* the *Marcionite* in *Orig. Dial. con. Marc.* Sect. 1. p. 3, 4, 14. And of εἰκὼν ſee *Iren.* l. 1. c. 10. p. 78. where of the εἰκόνες of the Elements of *Marcus*.

c *Ign. Epiſt. Interpol. ad Philadelph.* p. 180. *Ed. Voſſ.*

which thoſe Hereticks fancied to be ſubordinate Creators and Governours of the viſible World. *Epiphanius* in his Twenty-third Hereſie of the *Saturnilians* (*a*), declareth their odd opinion concerning one Unknown Father, and the [Δυνάμεις, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι,] the Virtues, Principalities and Powers, made by him; and of the inferior creatures made by them. And in his Twenty-ſixth Hereſie of the *Gnoſticks*, he ſetteth down the order of their [ἀρχοντες, or] Heavenly Principalities: How little now do theſe names differ from the [Κυριότητες, or] Dominions; the [ἀρχαὶ, or] Principalities; the [ἐξουσίαι, or] Powers, of St. *Paul* the Apoſtle? And that Apoſtle doth no more aſſert in this place the creation of ſuch Orders, than he doth the making of the *Gnoſtick Æons* in the firſt Chapter to the *Hebrews*, where he affirmeth of Chriſt that he made Αἰῶνας. In ſuch places he ſaid in effect that the *Logos* was the true Principle which they miſtook in their notion, and miſcalled by other names, though they were in a kind of purſuit of him, but in the dark, and in falſe ways: That it was he that made the World viſible and intellectual, by what names ſoever they called it, or into what Claſſes ſoever they had diſpoſed it; and that this was not the effect of any ſuch powers as they dreamed of, they having no exiſtence but in the ſhadows of their own imagination.

a—ἕνα γὰρ εἶναι πατέρα ἄγνωστον, &c.

In the following Chapter (*b*), he oppoſeth the Principles of Chriſtian Religion to the Elements of their Philoſophy. And in the next Verſe (*c*), he oppoſeth to the πλήρωμα of the *Simonians*, the fulneſs of the Deity which dwelt in Chriſt. And after that (*d*) he twice mentioneth his Headſhip over all [ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι] Principalities and Powers: And thence he moſt aptly proceedeth to the condemnation of the worſhip of Angels (*e*): For of them the *Gnoſticks* made egregious Idols.

b Col. 2. 8.

c Verſ. 9.

d Ver. 10, 15.

e Verſ. 18.

I am

I am the more confirmed in this Discourse upon St. *Paul's* words by those of *Irenæus*: "God (said he in his refutation (*a*) of the *Gnostick* Heresie) "did make "all things, both visible and invisible, sensible and in-"telligible,——not by Angels, or other Virtues,—— "But by his Word and Spirit.——This God is neither "*Beginning*, nor *Virtue*, nor *Fulness*: That is (as I suppose it was read in the *Greek* Copy, which the Lear-"ned world much wanteth) neither Ἀρχὴ, nor Ἀρετὴ, nor "πλήρωμα, no *Gnostick* Principle, but true and very "God. Neither am I concerned at the Objection of those who ascribe these Terms to *Valentinus*; for 'tis plain he was not (*b*) the Inventer. It appeareth by the studiousness of *Socinus*, in order to the eluding of the force of such places, that he believed an acknowledgment of Christ as Creator, was in effect a confession of his Godhead. This then being by *Arius* granted, and by *Socinus* denied, that Christ created the Natural World; it is that single point in which *Arius* apart from *Socinus*, is chargeable with Idolatry. And certainly he is not accused upon slight and idle suspicion, if the charge be drawn up against him, either from Scripture or Reason.

a *Irenæus adv. Hær.* l. 1. c. 9. p. 114.

b *Iren.* l. 1. c. 5. p. 58. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης γνωστικῆς αἱρέσεως, τὰς ἀρχαίας εἰς ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα δι' ἀσκ λί μεθαρμόσας ὁ ὑαλεντῖνος, &c.

In the Scripture God himself doth prove himself to the World, to be the true one God, by his making of all things. In what other sense will any man, whose prejudice does not bend him a contrary way, interpret the following places? *Who hath measured out* (c) *the waters in the hollow of his hand? and meted out the Heavens with a span; and comprehended the dust of the Earth in a measure; and weighed the Mountains in scales, and the Hills in a ballance? Who hath directed the spirit of the Lord, or being his counseller hath taught Him?*

c Isa. 40. 12, 13. See also Verses 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Thus saith (d) *the God, the Lord, he that created the Heavens,*

d Isa. 42. 5, 8.

Heavens, and ſtretched them out; He that ſpread forth the Earth, and that which cometh out of it. He that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and ſpirit to them that walk therein. I am the Lord, that is my name, and my Glory I will not give to another.——*Thus ſaith* (a) *the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and formed thee, O Iſrael! Fear not.*——*Before me there was no God formed, neither ſhall there be after me.*

a Iſa. 43. 1, 10.

The Lord (b) *is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlaſting King,* [or, the King of Eternity.]—*Thus ſhall ye ſay unto them,* [the Nations,] *The gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth, even they ſhall periſh from the Earth, and from under theſe Heavens. He hath made the Earth by his Power; he hath eſtabliſhed the World by his Wiſdom, and hath ſtretched out the Heavens by his Diſcretion.*

b Jer. 10. 10, 11, 12.

Thus ſpeaketh the Scripture: In the next place let it be conſidered whether Reaſon can diſſent from it. What notion will Reaſon give us of the true God, if it ſuppoſeth ſuch wiſdom and power in a creature as can make the World? For does not Reaſon thence collect her Idea of God, conceiving of him as of the mighty and wiſe framer of the Univerſe? thus the very *Americans* themſelves, I mean the *Peruvians*, did call their ſupreme God by the name of *Pachaia Chacic* (c), which ſignifies as they tell us, the Creator of Heaven and Earth.

c See Gerard. Voſſ. de Idol. l. 1. p. 14.

In this then *Arius* is particularly to be condemned, in that he ſuppoſeth the Creator a Creature, and yet profeſſeth to worſhip him under the notion of the Maker of all things.

It is true, that *Arius* gave not to Chriſt the very ſame honour he did to the Father. And his Diſciples in their Doxologies, were wont in cunning manner, to give Glory to the Father by the Son

Son (*a*). And such a Form *Eusebius* himself used (*b*); and we find it at the end of one of his Books against *Sabellius*: "Glory be to the one unbegotten God, by "the one only begotten God the Son of God, in one "holy Spirit, both now and always, and through all "Ages of Ages, *Amen*.

a *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* l. 10. c. 4. *ad fin.* p. 388. —δὶ οὗ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα.
b *Id. contra Sabell.* l. 1. p. 22. *Ed. Sirmond.*

Neither do the *Arians* give any glory to Christ, but that which they pretend to think enjoined by God the Father. But if Christ had been a Creature, the Creator would not by any stamp of his Authority have raised him to the value of a natural God; and such a God they honour, whatsoever the terms be with which they darken their sense; for he is honoured by them as Creator and Governour, and dispenser of Grace.

PART 3.

Of the Idolatry of the Socinians.

THe point in which *Socinus* offendeth by himself, is the Worship he giveth Christ whilst he maketh him but a man; and such a man as is but a machine of animated and thinking Matter: for though he declineth not the word, soul or spirit, I cannot find at the bottom of his Hypothesis, any distinct substance of a Soul in Christ. If that Principle had been believed by him, why doth he suppose the Lord Jesus bereaved of all Perception as long as his Body remained lifeless in the Grave (*c*)? Why do his Followers maintain that the dead do no otherwise live to God than as there is in him a firm purpose of their Resurrection (*d*)? for so the Vindicator of the Confession of the Churches of *Poland*, written by *Shlichtingius*, is pleased to discourse: "We believe (said he) not only that the Soul "of Christ supervived his Body, but also that the Souls "of other men do the like. But if *Cichovius* thinketh

c *Compendiolum Socinianismi*, c. 8. Sect. 7. p. 142. —— *Hinc colligunt animas post mortem nihil sentire aut agere, imò ne quidem in se reipsâ subsistere ut personas: atque hoc esse quod passim dicitur in V.T. mortuos non habere memoriam Dei.* —*Item hunc esse descensum ad inferos, cum quis in Statum mortuorum redigitur.*
d *Vind. Confes. Eccles. Polon.* p. 150.

" that the dead do otherwiſe live to God, than as it is " always in the hand and power of God to raiſe them " up, and reſtore them to life; let him go and confute " Chriſt, where he ſaith, *I am the God of Abraham,* " *Iſaac, and Jacob: God is not the God of the dead, but* " *of the living.* Now Reaſon (the great *Diana* of *Socinus*, though he often took a cloud of fancy for his Goddeſs) can't but judg it a diſparagement to the Idea of a God, to ſuppoſe ſuch Divinity as can govern the World, and hear and act in all places at once, (as Chriſt is by *Socinus* confeſſed to do); in a portion of living Matter, not ſix-foot ſquare, reſerved in the Heavens; and perceiving by the help of motion on its organs. *Arius* advanced the Idea of Divinity to a much higher and more becoming pitch; for he, overcome with the plain evidence of Scripture, maintained the Præexiſtence of the *Logos*, and ſuppoſed him to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from Matter. And he might conſequently affirm with conſiſtence to his Principles, that Chriſt could know without the mere help of motion, and be ſpread in his ſubſtance to an amplitude equal with that of the Material World. For the Material World is but a Creature, one Body of many Creatures; and it implieth no contradiction to ſay of God, that he can make one Creature as big as the collection of all the reſt. But notwithſtanding ſuch amplitude, there would ſtill be wanting infinite Wiſdom. For in the Idea of God we have no other notion of it than as of ſuch a Wiſdom as ſufficeth to frame the World, and to govern it after it hath been framed.

Now this latter Point is that in which both *Arius* and *Socinus* are together condemned, whilſt both worſhip Chriſt as one who under God diſpoſeth and governeth all things. It is true, that he is ſuch: but ſuch he

he had not been if he had not been conſubſtantial with the Father. In that ſenſe he is the Father's Wiſdom: and whilſt *Arius* and *Socinus* adore him as Gods Wiſdom, yet not as God; they aſcribe to the Creature, the Attribute by which the Creator is known. For the Scriptures, they in oppoſition to all other gods, do as well aſcribe the Government, as the Creation of the World, to that one God of *Iſrael*. Hear them ſpeaking in this matter, with ſo loud and plain a voice, that he who is dull of hearing cannot miſtake them, unleſs he by obſtinacy make himſelf deafer ſtill, and will not diſtinctly hear them. In them we find this Prayer made by the pious King *Hezekiah*, when he was diſtreſſed by *Sennacherib* (*a*). *O Lord of Hoſts, God of Iſrael, that dwelleſt between the Cherubims! Thou art the God, even thou alone of all the Kingdoms of the Earth. Thou haſt made Heaven and Earth. Incline thine ear, O Lord, and hear, open thine eyes, O Lord, and ſee; and hear all the words of Sennacherib who hath ſent to reproach the living God. Of a truth, Lord, the Kings of Aſſyria have laid waſt all the Nations and their Countries, and have caſt their Gods into the fire; for they were no gods but the work of mens hands, wood and ſtone; therefore they have deſtroyed them. Now therefore, O Lord our God, ſave us from his hand, that all the Kingdoms of the Earth may know that thou art the Lord, even thou only.* Other places there are to the ſame purpoſe (*b*), and amongſt them theſe: *Let them* [the Nations or Gentiles] *give glory unto the Lord* (c), *and declare his praiſe in the Iſlands. The Lord ſhall go forth as a mighty man;—He ſhall prevail againſt his enemies.*

I have declared (d) *and I have ſaved, and I have ſhewed, when there was no ſtrange god among you: therefore ye are my witneſſes, ſaith the Lord, that I am God. Yea, before the day I was he,——I will work, and who ſhall let it?*

a Iſa. 37. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

b See Iſa. 41. from 1, to 29: & c. 43. 1, to 6.

c Iſa. 42. 12, 13.

d Iſa. 43. 12, 13.

a Iſa. 43. 14, 15, 16. *Thus ſaith the Lord* (a) *the Redeemer,——I am the Lord your holy one, the Creator of Iſrael, your King.* [He that raiſeth you out of mean eſtate, and ruleth over you.] *Thus ſaith the Lord who maketh a way in the Sea, and a path in the mighty waters.*

b Jer. 10. 7, 8, 9. *Who would not fear thee, O King of Nations* (b)*! The ſtock is a doctrine of vanities; but the Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlaſting King.*

c Zach. 10, 1, 2. *Ask ye of the Lord rain* (c)*, in the time of the latter rain; ſo the Lord ſhall make bright clouds, and give them ſhowers of rain, to every one graſs in the field. For the Idols have ſpoken vanity.——The eyes of the Lord* (d) *run to and fro through the whole Earth.* [The King of Chaldea] (e) *ſhall gather the captivity as the ſand, and ſhall ſcoff at Kings.——Then ſhall his mind change, and he ſhall paſs over, and offend imputing this his power unto his god. Art thou not he from everlaſting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One? we ſhall not die: O Lord, thou haſt ordained them* [the Powers of Chaldea] *for judgment; and, O mighty God! Thou haſt eſtabliſhed them for correction. Who hath* (f) *directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his counſellor hath taught him? with whom took he counſel? and who inſtructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment?——Behold the Nations are as a drop of a bucket.*

d Zach. 4. 10.

e Hab. 1. 9, 10, 11, 12.

Iſa. 40. 13, 14, 15.

See here the Spirit of God aſſerting the Divinity of the one God of *Iſrael*, againſt Idols, by diſplaying his Wiſdom and Power in the Natural and Political Government of the World. But leſt the evidence of theſe places ſhould be weakened by any, as Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, relating to times before our Lord was actually made by the Eternal Father, the King of the World; I will add a few more which may tend to the preventing of ſuch an Evaſion. *Iſaiah* (g) propheſying of the *Baptiſt*, and of the bleſſed times of the Goſpel, intro-

g Iſa. 40. 9, 10, 11.

introduceth that voice thus crying out to *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*: *Behold your God. Behold the Lord God will come with ſtrong hand, and his arm ſhall rule for him.---- He ſhall feed his flock like a ſhepherd.*

In the ſame *Iſaiah* (for I ſcarce ſeek further than that Evangelical Prophet) the God of *Iſrael* repeateth this profeſſion (*a*): *Before me there was no God framed, neither ſhall there be after me. Thus* (b) *ſaith the Lord the King of Iſrael, and his Redeemer the Lord of Hoſts, I am the firſt, and I am the laſt, and beſides me there is no God.*

a Iſa. 43. 10, 11. See Ch. 44. 8.
b Iſa. 44. 6: & 48. 12.

And yet of the *Logos*, the *Socinians* will profeſs as did *Nathaniel*, *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael*; and as doth the Book of the *Revelation*, that he is, *Alpha and Omega, the firſt and the laſt.*

The God of *Iſrael* had ſaid alſo in the foregoing Chapter, *I, even I, am the Lord, and beſides me there is no Saviour.—Is there a God beſides me? yea, there is no God. I know not any.* (*c*) Yet, of the *Logos*, *Socinians* and *Arians* make confeſſion in the words of St. *John*, ſaying, *That he was in the beginning with God the Father.*

c See Ch. 43: 11. & Ch. 45: 5:

The deſign of all theſe places ought not in reaſon to be baffled, by ſaying with confidence (*d*) theſe two things: Firſt, That the Power which Chriſt had was given him by God, and in order to his Glory. Secondly, That it is not unlawful, but our duty, to worſhip a Creature by Gods command, though without his permiſſion it be Idolatry. If Chriſt had not been more than a creature, God would not have enjoined us ſo high a Worſhip of Him: neither would it have been conſiſtent with his incommunicable Omnipotence and Wiſdom to have given him all power in Heaven and in Earth. "This (as (*e*) *Athanaſius* ſpeaketh) were "to turn his Humane Nature into a ſecond Almighty.

d *Confeſſ. Sublicht. Vind. c. 1. p. 54: Multorum Deorum cultores non ſumus.—Chriſtum, cum colimus, tanquam à ſummo poteſtatem Rerum Omnium adeptum, &, ſic cum nomine illius, ſic ad gloriam illius, imperantem.*

e *S. Athan. op. vol. 2. p. 581. A.*

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The *Logos* was ſo before all Worlds, and ceaſed not to be ſo by aſſuming the Humane Nature into Unity of Subſiſtence.

To ſay then that Chriſt is a Creature, yet made ſuch a God who can hear all Prayers, ſupply all wants, give all Graces needful to his Body the Church, know all the ſecrets of all Thoughts not directed to him, govern and judg with Wiſdom all the World, and to Worſhip him under this Divine Notion; what is it elſe than the paying an homage to a preſumed Creature, which is due only to the one very God? for what apprehenſions greater than theſe do we entertain concerning the true God, when we call upon him, confide in him, or revere him?

He then that meeteth ſuch an Inſcription in *Racovia* as he may find often (*a*) in *Miſna*, in this manner, *D. O. S.* and at length, *Deo Omnipotenti Sacrum*, and meant of Chriſt, to whom, in the Verſes ſet (*b*) underneath, the application is particularly made; How muſt he expound it? He muſt either interpret it of Chriſt Tranſubſtantiated as 'twere by their fancy into the Father, or worſhipped like *Neptune* (*c*) in the *D. M.* at *Rome*, in the quality of the true God, whilſt he is confeſſed to be but a Creature. For they will own but one God in nature and perſon, and yet will give to Chriſt, not acknowledged as a coeternal Subſiſtence, that which belongeth in eminent manner to his Idea. His Idea ſure it is; for that Being appeareth to our mind as the beſt and greateſt, which with ſuch mighty Goodneſs, Power and Wiſdom, governs the inſenſible, ſenſible, rational, and Chriſtian World.

I end this Chapter with the ſenſe of St. *Cyprian*'s words in his concluſion of the Book *de Bono Patientiæ* (*d*): "[Jeſus] Is he who was ſilent in his ſufferings, "but will not be ſo afterwards when he executeth "venge-

a *In Templo Aſrano. ap. Nath. Chytræi Monumenta Miſnica.* p. 362, 363.

b *Victor Chriſtt.*——*In tt Credo unum.*——

c *Ap. Saubertum de Sacrificiis.* c. 2. p. 27. *D. M.* [i.e. *Deo Maximo*] *Neptuno Sacrum.*

d *S. Cypr. de bono Patientiæ*, Sect. 14, 15. p. 368. *Hic eſt qui cum in paſſione tacuerit*, &c. *Hic eſt Deus noſter*, &c.

"vengeance. This is our God; not the God of "all, but the God of the Faithful, and of them who "believe.——Him, most dear Brethren, let us expect "as our Judg and Avenger.——God the Father com-"manded this his Son to be adored. And Saint *Paul* "the Apostle, mindful of his command, saith, *That* "*God hath exalted him, and given him a name above* "*every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee* "*should bow*; of things Cœlestial, Terrestrial and In-"fernal. And in the *Revelation*, the Angel for-"biddeth *John* who was willing to worship him (*a*), "and saith, *See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-ser-*"*vant and of thy Brethren. Adore the Lord Je-*"*sus* (b).

a Rev. 22. 9.
b *Jesum Dominum adora.* So S. *Cyprian* readeth the Text, *we*, τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον worship God.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Idolatry with which the Roman-Catholicks *are charged; and how far they are justly, or unjustly accused.*

PART I.

Of the Charge which is drawn up against them.

BY *Roman-Catholicks*, I mean those who pretending to own the Doctrine of the Universal Church, and to submit to the Discipline of it, as it is derived from the supposed Fountain and Head of it, the Bishop of *Rome*, do confess the Faith of the Council of *Trent*.

These also are guilty of worshipping Idols, if the multitude of Accusers createth guilt; to omit as yet the Arguments which move so many to that accusation. Mr. *Thorndike* supposeth them accused, when he affirmeth (*a*), "That they who separate from them as "Idolaters, are thereby Schismaticks before God. As also when he saith (*b*), "They who charge the *Papists* to be Idolaters,——let them not lead the people by the Nose, to believe that they can prove their "Supposition when they cannot.

a Mr. *Thorndike* in just Weights and Measures, c. 1. p. 6, 7.
b Ch. 2. p. 11.

Accused then they are; and their Accusers are neither few, nor of inconsiderable quality. I mean not here the *Mahometans* and *Jews* so much as the Christians, who are of this judgment. The *Mahometans* are the professed enemies of visible Idols; and in some places where they have unhappily succeeded in their Invasions of Christendom, they have been as fierce and

and zealous *Iconoclasts* (*a*) as any to whom that name has been given. And of such zeal the *Jews* would give external signs, if they had equal power. Of both the learned *Grotius* saith (*b*), That they are much diverted from Christianity by the Images which they see cast in the way before them.

The Christians of the *Greek* Church use painted Tables. But many of them [if many there be of the same faith with their late Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *S. Cyril*] do think of the Images of *Roman-Catholicks*, as of so many Idols. That Patriarch being askt what the *Grecians* thought of Images, returned this Answer, not as his private opinion, but as the Faith of the Oriental Church (*c*), the members of which he personateth in that Confession. "We do not reprobate (*d*) the noble "Art of Painting. So far are we from that [extreme] "that we allow to such as please, the Pictures of Jesus "and his Saints. But for the adoration and worship of "them, we detest it, as contrary to the Scripture, and "lest, instead of God, we should ignorantly worship "Colour, Artifice, Creatures. He indeed useth the word Λατρεία, which I rend'red Adoration; but he joineth it with the word θρησκεία, which I translate Worship; and which St. *Paul* useth in setting forth the Idolatrous adoration of Angels by the *Gnosticks* (*e*). And it is certain by his scope, that he meaneth the Worship of *Rome* Modern; and he elsewhere (*f*), calleth it superstitious, and that which smelleth rank of Idolatry.

Touching those Christians who are known by the Title of the Reformed, they judg it one great part of their Reformation, that they have purged their Churches of *Romish* Idols.

The Confession of *Helvetia* (*g*) rejecteth as Idolatrous, not only the Idols of the Heathens, but the

a *Leonclav. Pandect. Hist. Turc.* p. 139.

b *Grotius in Annot. ad Consult. Cassand.* p. 314.——*Et Judæi ac Mahumetistæ earum* [h.e. *Imaginum*] *aspectu multum avertantur à Christianismo.*

c See the Preface of St. *Cyril* to his Conf. *ap. Hotting.* p. 399. Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία, &c.

d *S. Cyr. in Resp. ad Interrog.* 4. p. 531.

e Col. 2. 18. ἐν ταπ. καὶ θρησκείᾳ τῶν Ἀγγέλων.

f *Ap. Hotting.* p. 550.

g *Conf. Helv. in Corp. Confess.* c. 4. p. 5.——*Rejicimus itaque non modò Gentium Idola, sed & Christianorum simulachra.*

Images also of those who have taken upon them the Christian name.

a Scot. Confess. ap. Syn. Gen. p. 126, 127.

The general Confession of *Scotland* (*a*), to which the Royal Family, and many others of condition, subscribed, calleth Transubstantiation a blasphemous opinion; meaning thereby that blasphemy, which saith, a Creature is God, and supposing that the Object, under the shews of bread, is bread, though set apart to a Religious use.

b Polon. Conf. p. 167, 168.

The Confession called the Consent of *Poland* (*b*), having declamed against many of the Usages of *Rome*, and imputed much of the *Turks* success in Christendom to Gods displeasure at them; proceedeth to an "Address to Christ, by a Prayer, in which he is beseech-"ed to blot out Idols, Errors, and Abominations.

c Confessio Argentin. [Id est Elv. 4. Imper. Arg. Conf. Hen. Lindav.] c. 24. p. 196, 197.

The Confession of *Strasburg* (*c*) rejecteth that Worship of Images which is practised in the *Roman* Church, as contrary to the Scripture, and to the sense of the ancient Church; citing to this purpose the Epistle of *Epiphanius*, and its Translation by St. *Hierom*, as also the Authorities of *Lactantius* and *Athanasius*.

d Confess. Aug. c. 21. p. 22. Hic mos gloriam soli Deo debitam transfert ad homines, &c.

The *Augustan* Confession (*d*) condemneth the Invocation of Saints, as a custom which transferreth to men the honour which is due to God only; and which ascribeth Omnipotence to the dead, by attributing to them the knowledg of the Heart.

e Conf. Saxon. p. 87, 88. Reprehendimus hanc corruptelam atheticam, &c.

The Confession of *Saxony* (*e*) saith, of the Invocation of Saints, both that it leadeth from God, and that it ascribeth Omnipotence to the Creature. And it setteth upon the Worship both of Saints and Images, the reproachful brand of *an Heathenish corruption*.

f Conf. Wirt. de Euchar. p. 115. de Invoc. Sanct. p. 121, 122.

The Confession of *Wirtemburgh* (*f*), though being mindful of the difficulties of its own absurd Consubstantiation, it condemneth not the Worship of Christ under the shews of Bread in the Church of *Rome* as

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an Idolatrous practice; though it granteth that it is possible with God to change the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ; yet it doth not express such favour towards their Worship of Saints. It condemneth the Invocation of them according to the *Roman* Litanies, as a practice which ascribeth to them such ubiquity and such knowledg of the Heart as belongeth to God only.

The Confession of *Bohemia* (*a*) allowing some publick Festivals in memory of the Virgin and other Saints, does yet suppose that Worship of them which is used in the Church of *Rome* to be an honour and adoration due to God.

The Confession of *Basil* (*b*) speaking of such precepts and permissions under the *Papacy* as it esteemeth unlawful; doth number the Invocation of Saints, and Veneration of Images amongst those things which by virtue of the second Commandment are prohibited by God.

In the *French* Synods of the Reformed, there is frequent mention of *Romish* Idolatry (*c*).

For the Church of *England*, she designed in her Articles briefness, and avoidance of disputes; and having professed the Faith of one God, and one Lord Jesus Christ, she doth not insist particularly on the Invocation of Saints, or the Worship of Images. Yet in her twenty-second Article concerning Purgatory, she saith of that and of the *Romish* Doctrine, touching Pardons, Worship and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicks, and also of Invocation of Saints, "That it is a "fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no "warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the "Word of God. Now what can we judg of that Worship which hath for its object something else besides God, and is contrary to the Scripture? We cannot

a *Conf. Bohem. Art.* 17. *de cultu Sanct.* p. 201. ——*Insuper docent honorem & cultum Deo debitum, non esse ad Sanctos, nec eorum Imagines transferendum*, &c.

b *Conf. Bas. Art.* 11. *de illicitis permiss. Papatu, atque in specie de cultu Rel. Sanct.* &c. p. 18, 19.

c See *Synods de Lion.* A. 1563. *de Rochel.* A. 1571. *de Gergeau.* A. 1601. in the Book of *J. de Hault* called *la Discipl. des Eglises Reformées de France.* c. 12. p. 308, 309.

but think it not a mere impertinence, but a wicked act; an act which by contradicting his Authority, diminisheth his honour: and being an act of Worship, nothing less than one degree of Idolatry. Again, in its twenty-eighth Article it teacheth concerning the consecrated Elements, "That they were not by Christs in-"stitution or ordinance, reserved, carried about, lift-"ed up and worshipped. By which words it noteth the Adoration of the Host in the Church of *Rome*, not as an innocent circumstance added by the discretion of that Church, but as an unlawful worship; though it doth not expressly brand it with the name of Idolatry.

In the Rubrick after the Communion, the Adoration of the consecrated Elements is upon this reason forbidden, "Because the Sacramental Bread and Wine re-"main still in their very natural substances. And it is there added, "That they so remaining, the Adoration "of them would be Idolatry to be abhorred by all "faithful Christians.

This Rubrick doth in effect charge the Church of *Rome* with gross Idolatry; for it supposeth the Object which they materially worship, to be in its natural substance still a creature, and a creature disjoined from Personal union with Christ, and not (according to the words of their St. *Thomas* (*a*) inserted into their Missal) a Deity latent under the accidents of Bread and Wine. And it concludeth that the worship of such a substance is such Idolatry as Christian Religion abhorreth.

(*a*) *Missal. Rom. in Orat. post Missam. Adoro te devotè latens Deitas! Quæ sub his Figuris verè latitas.*

It doth not indeed affirm in terms, that the worship of such a substance by a *Romanist* who verily thinks it to be not bread, but a Divine body, is Idolatry; but it saith that, whence such a conclusion may be inferred. It saith that the bread is still bread in its substance, and

if

if it be really ſuch whilſt it is worſhipped, the miſtake of the worſhipper cannot alter the nature of the thing, though according to the degrees of unavoidableneſs in the cauſes of his ignorance, it may extenuate the crime. Upon ſuppoſition that ſtill 'tis very bread in its ſubſtance, *Coſterus*, and it may be *Bellarmine* himſelf, would have condemned the *Latria* of it as the Idolatrous worſhip of a Creature, even in *Paul the ſimple*, of whom ſtories ſay that he was extreamly devout; but withal, that he knew not which were firſt, the Apoſtles or the Prophets. And here it ought to be well noted, that there is a wide diſtance betwixt this saying, *That Idolatry is a damnable ſin*; and this aſſertion, That Idolatry in any degree of it, and in a perſon under any kind of circumſtances, actually damneth.

I would here alſo commend it to the obſervation of the Reader, that the Church of *England* ſpeaketh this of the worſhip of the corporal ſubſtance of the Elements preſent in the Euchariſt after conſecration; and not of the real and eſſential preſence of Chriſt. And for this reaſon it left out the terms of Real and Eſſential, uſed in the Book of King *Edward* the ſixth (*a*), as ſubject to miſconſtruction. Real it is, if it be preſent in its real effects, and they are the eſſence of it ſo far as a Communicant doth receive it: for he receiveth it not ſo much in the nature of a thing, as in the nature of a priviledg (*b*). But I comprehend not the whole of this Myſtery; and therefore I leave it to the explication of others who have better skill in untying of knots.

In the Commination uſed by the Church of *England*, 'till God be pleaſed to reſtore the Diſcipline of Penance, a curſe is denounced againſt all thoſe who make any carved or molten Image to worſhip it. And it is the curſe which is in the firſt place denounced on

Aſh-

a See *L'eſtrange's* Alliance of Div. Offices, *p.*207, 208. *c.*7. ——Not —— that any adoration is done to the Bread and Wine there bodily received, or unto any real or eſſential preſence there being of Chriſts natural fleſh and blood. 2. Book of *E.* 6.

b Jullus in Apol. Eccl. Ang. Sect. 14. p. 50, 51 —— *Chriſtum enim aſſerimus verè ſe præſentem exhibere in Sacramentis ſuis: in Baptiſmo, ut eum induamus: in cenâ, ut eum fide & ſpiritu comedamus, & de ejus cruce ac ſanguine habeamus vitam æternam.*

Aſh-Wedneſday. It is true that it is taken out of the Book of *Deuteronomy* (*a*), and it is the ſenſe of a verſe in that Book uſed at large in the former Common-Prayer-Book, in theſe words, *Curſed is the man that maketh any carved or molten Image, an abomination to the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftſman: and putteth it in a ſecret place,* [to worſhip it.] That is, though it be done without ſcandal to men, and in ſuch private manner as to avoid the puniſhment which the Law inflicteth on known and publick offenders. But the Church of *England* repeating this Law in its Commination, doth thereby own it to be ſtill of validity, and to oblige Chriſtian men.

a Deut. 27. 15.

The Homilies which are an Appendage to our Church, do expreſly arraign the *Roman-Catholicks* as Idolaters in the learned Diſcourſes of the peril of Idolatry.

Alſo *Engliſh* Princes and Biſhops have declared themſelves to be of the ſame perſwaſion.

King *Edward* the ſixth in his Injunctions (*b*), reckoneth Pictures and Paintings in the Churches of *England* [as adorned by the *Romaniſts*] amongſt the Monuments of Idolatry. Of the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth* this is the Thirty-fifth (*c*), "That no perſons keep in their "houſes any abuſed Images, Tables, Pictures, Pain-"tings, or other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pil-"grimages, Idolatry and Superſtition. Of the Articles of Inquiry in the firſt year of her Reign (*d*), this is one, and pertinent to our preſent Diſcourſe. "Whether "you know any that keep in their Houſes any unde-"faced Images, Tables, Pictures, Paintings, or other "Monuments of feigned and falſe Miracles, Pilgrimages, "Idolatry and Superſtition, and do adore them; eſpe-"cially ſuch as have been ſet up in Churches, Chappels, "and Oratories.

b *Ed. 6. Injunct. A. 1547. ap. D. Epiſc. Nordov. Ed. 1. p. 9.*

c *Q. Eliz. Injunct. A. 1559. p. 73.*

d *Art. of Inquiry, p. 238.*

This

This likewise is one of the Articles of Visitation set forth by *Cranmer* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in the second year of *Edward* the sixth: "Whether Parsons, "*&c.* have not removed and taken away and utterly "extincted and destroyed in their Churches, Chappels, "and Houses, all Images, all Shrines,—Pictures, Pain-"tings, and all other Monuments of——Idolatry and "Superstition——.

Bishop *Jewel's* opinion is so well known, that his words may be spared: And that Confession of Faith which he penned, and which maketh a part of his Apology for the Church of *England* [and in which he calleth (*a*) the Invocation of Saints in the Church of *Rome*, a practice vile, and plainly Heathenish] is put into the collection of the Confessions of the Reformed, under the Title of the *English* Confession (*b*). But the Churches Confession it cannot be called with respect to her Authority, which did not frame it; whatsoever it be in its substance, and in its conformity to her Articles.

a *Corp. Confess.* 1. part. p. 95. and *Jewel's Apol. Eccl. Anglic.* Sect. 18. p. 56. *Turpe autem & plane ethnicum est quod in illorum Ecclesiis vidimus*, &c.

b *Confessio Anglica ap. Synt. Conf.* p. 89, &c.

For others of the Church of *England*, a very Learned person, the *Hannibal* and Terrour of Modern *Rome* (*c*) hath named enough. *T. G.* hath indeed excepted against many of the Jury: but whether he hath not illegally challenged so many of them, remaineth a Question; or rather it is with the Judicious out of dispute.

c Dr. *Stillingfleet* in Pref. to his Disc. the Idol. pract. in the Church of *Rome.*

The sentences of private men spoken on this occasion, both here and beyond the Seas, either broadly (*d*), or indirectly, are scarce to be numbered. Amongst them beyond the Seas I will name only *Danæus* and *Hottinger.*

d *Auth. Querimonia Europæ.* p. 230. *Roma Babel quondam, sed nunc ex sacla Bethaven*, &c.

Danæus in his Appendix to the Catalogue of Heresies written by St. *Austin*, recounteth the Heretieks who had offended, as he thought, in particular manner

ner againſt the ſeveral precepts of the Decalogue. And under the ſecond Commandment he placeth the *Simonians*, the *Armenians*, the *Papiſts*, and ſome others, as notorious violaters of it. *Hottinger* (*a*) diſtributeth the falſe worſhip of the *Papiſts* into ſix kinds of Idolatry, under the *Greek* names of Ἀρτολατρία, or Bread-worſhip; Μαριολατρία, or *Marian*-worſhip, to wit, that of the Bleſſed Virgin; Ἁγιολατρία, or Saint-worſhip; Ἀγγελολατρία, or Angel-worſhip; Λειψανολατρία, or Relick-worſhip; and laſtly, Εἰκονολατρία, or the worſhip of Images.

a *Hottinger. in Diſſert. 1. de Neceſſ. Reform.* P 39.

PART 2.

Of the mitigation of the charge of Idolatry againſt the Papiſts.

THE learned *Hugo Grotius*, eſpecially in his *Annotations on the conſultation of Caſſander, in his Animadverſions on the Animadverſions of* Rivet, and in his *Votum pro Pace*; The learned Mr. *Thorndike* in his *Epilogue*, and in his *Juſt Weights and Meaſures*; *Curcellæus* in his Epiſtle to *Adrian Patius* (*b*): Theſe three, together with ſome others have pronounced a milder ſentence in this cauſe, though they approved not of ſuch Invocation of Saints, and worſhip of Images, as is practiſed in the Church of *Rome*. But it is not my deſign to decide the controverſie by the greater number of modern Authorities, but rather to look into the merits of the cauſe.

b *Curcell. Ep. ad Adr. Pat. inter Epiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* p.859.

And this I purpoſe to do ſo far only, as Angels, or rather *Saints* and *Images*, are the Objects of this Diſquiſition.

Of Relicks, and the Sacramental bread, I forbear to ſay more than that little which follows.

For the firſt, that which will be ſaid concerning the wor-

worſhip of Images will help us ſufficiently in judging of the worſhip of Relicks. If they be made Objects of Religious adoration; if they be honoured as pledges of Divine protection; if they be truſted in as Shrines of Divine virtue; at adventure, and in all ages; they become as the Manna which was laid up for any other than the Sabbath-day, uſeleſs to the preſervers, offenſive to God, and unſavory to men of ſagacious Noſes. Concerning that ſubſtance which after Sacramental conſecration, appeareth as Bread, that excellent Church, in whoſe ſafe communion I have always lived, doth ſtill call it Bread. For the Prieſt, after having conſecrated the Elements, and received the Communion himſelf in both "kinds, is required by the Rubrick of that Office, to "adminiſter to others, and when he delivereth the "Bread to any one, to uſe this Form, *The Body of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve "thy Body and Soul to Everlaſting life.* Now a Diſcourſe concerning the worſhip of that Subſtance which appeareth as Bread, will in effect be a Diſcourſe about the Corporal preſence of Chriſt under the ſhews of that creature, and run the Diſputant into another Queſtion which hath been induſtriouſly ſifted by Thouſands. Neither are the printed Volumes touching this ſubject few or ſmall. There is a great heap of them written by the learned *Meſſieurs*, *Arnaud* and *Claud*; and *Monſieur Aubertin* hath obliged the World with a very large and laborious work, about Tranſubſtantiation, in which may be ſeen the ſenſe of the Ancients.

Forbearing then any further Diſcourſe about the Worſhip of Relicks, or the Sacramental bread, I proceed to the Worſhip of Saints, Angels, and Images; inquiring how far the Church of *Rome* doth by her Veneration render them Idols.

At the entrance of this Inquiry, the trueneſs of her

Faith in one God and three Persons, is to be acknowledged and observed. The Creed which is formed by order of the Council of *Trent*, beginneth with the Articles of that of *Nice*; though it endeth not without Additions. And Dr. *Rivet* in his Reflections on those excellent Notes with which the acute *Grotius* adorned the consultation of *Cassander* (*a*), doth in this point, own the Orthodoxy of the *Roman* Faith. "In the Ar-"ticle of the Divine Trin-unity, there is nothing (saith "he) controverted betwixt *Papists* and *Protestants*. And thus much is true, if spoken of the generality of them; for they herein adhere to Catholick Doctrine. Thus do the Protestants of the Church of *England*; but all do not so, either here, or beyond the Seas, who commonly pass under the name of Protestants. *Curcellæus*, for instance sake, is called a Protestant, yet may seem no other than a *Tritheite*, as may appear by the first of those four Disputations which he wrote against his sharp Adversary *Maresius*.

a *And. Riv. in Animad. in Annot. H. Grot. p. 2.*

The *Romanists* then professing the true Catholick Faith in the Article of the blessed Trinity, and owning the second Synod of *Nice*, (which though it favoured Images so very highly, yet it ascribed *Latria* to God only (*b*),) they seem injurious to them who do not only charge them with Idolatry, but also aggravate that Idolatry as equal to the false Worship of the most barbarous Gentiles. They seem unjust, I say, in so doing, unless this be their meaning, that the least degree of that crime under the light of Christianity, be equal to the greatest under the disadvantages of Heathenism.

b *Verba Anast. Episc. Thesp. probata à Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 758. C. D. Nemo autem offendatur in Adorationis vocabulo. Si quidem & Homines, & Sanctos Angelos adoramus, non autem quod λατρείαν, hoc est, divinum cultum exhibeamus. Inquit enim Moses, Deum tuum adorabis, &c.*

It is certain that the *Romanists* who worship the true God, do not worship Universal Nature, or the Sun, or the Soul of the World in place of the Supreme Deity, as did millions of Pagans.

Also,

Alſo for the Angels which they worſhip, they juſtifie only the adoration of thoſe Spirits, who perſiſted in their firſt eſtate of unſpotted Holineſs: and they renounce in Baptiſm (*a*) the Devil and his Angels, after the manner of the Catholick Church. And when an Heathen is by them baptized, the Prieſt (*b*) after having ſigned him, firſt on the Forehead, and then on the Breaſt, with the ſign of the Croſs, does exhort him in this Form: *Abhor Idols. Reject* [their] *Images.* But the Gentiles ſacrificed to Devils, and to ſuch who by the light of nature, might be known to be evil Dæmons; becauſe they accepted of ſuch Sacrifices as were unagreeable to the juſtice and charity, and piety of mankind; Sacrifices vile and bloody; ſuch whoſe ſmoke might be diſcerned by a common noſtril, to ſmell of the ſtench of the bottomleſs pit. Yet ſome of the Heathens expreſly denied the practice of ſuch worſhip, and made to the Chriſtians this following profeſſion (*c*): "We worſhip not evil Dæmons. Thoſe Spirits "which you call Angels, thoſe we alſo worſhip; the "Powers of the Great God, and the Miniſteries of the "Great God.

a *Rituale Rom. de Sacr. Bapt.* p. 28. Inter. *Abrenuntias Satanæ?* Reſp. *Abrenuntio.* Int. *Et omnibus operibus ejus?* Reſp. *Abrenuntio.* Int. *Et omnibus pompis ejus?* Reſp. *Abrenuntio.*

b *Rit. Rom. ib.* p. 29. *Horreſce Idola, reſpue ſimulacra.*

c *S. Aug. in* Pſal. 96. *Non colimus mala Dæmonia: Angelos quos dicitis, ipſos & nos colimus, virtutes Dei magni, & miniſtria Dei magni.*

For Hero's, they worſhip thoſe only whom they believe to have profeſſed Chriſtian Religion, and to have been viſible Members of the Catholick Church: For into that (whatſoever particular communion it was which afterwards they viſibly owned) they were at firſt Baptized. Whereas the Gentiles worſhipped many who had been worſhippers of falſe gods. Such worſhippers were *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Quirinus*, among the *Romans.* Theſe firſt worſhipped falſe Deities, and were afterwards worſhipped themſelves with the like undue honour.

For Images, they venerate (for ſo the Council of *Trent* loves to ſpeak rather than to ſay adore or wor-

ſhip, with the ſecond Synod (*a*) of *Nice*) thoſe of Chriſt the true God, and of ſuch as they eſteem real Saints in Heaven; and not the Statues of the Sun, or of Univerſal Nature, or of the Soul of the World; or intentionally thoſe of Devils, or damned ſpirits.

In the Worſhip of Angels, Saints, Images, they forbear Sacrifice, as proper to God: Whereas the Heathen did not appropriate it to Him; for ſome of them offer'd only their Minds to the Supreme Deity, and their Beaſts to inferior gods. And the greater number offer'd *Victims*, and their θυσίας λογικὰς, or Prayers uſed in ſacrificing, both to God and Dæmons (*b*). Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that thus far the Church of *Rome* hath gone towards Sacrifice to Saints. It hath appointed Maſſes, which it eſteemeth proper Sacrifices or Offerings of the Body of Chriſt to the Father, in honour of her Saints: Inſomuch that ſuch Maſſes bear the names of their Hero's; and nothing is ſaid more commonly than *the Maſs of St. Anthony*; the Maſs of this or the other Saint. But in this caſe the Council of *Trent* hath given caution; and would not have it believ'd that the Sacrifice is offered to the Saint, but to God only (*c*).

Now that which I have hitherto ſhewed, is the fair ſide of the Church of *Rome*, in reference to the Idolatry with which ſhe is charged. Neither hath my Pen dawbed in the repreſentation; it hath done her but juſtice.

But there is, beſides this already expoſed to view, a cloudy ſide of that Church which calleth her ſelf the Pillar of Chriſtian Truth. This that we may the better diſcern, let us firſt view it in the Council of *Trent*, (or in any later Popiſh Synods), and then in its own ſubſequent Acts; and ſee how far [firſt in the point of Invocation of Saints, and next of Images] it doth directly,

a *In Conc. 2. Nic. Act. 4. p. 247. Sic Tharaſ. Omnes qui ſacras Imagines ſe venerari confitentur, adorationem autem recuſant, a ſancto Patre* [h.e. *Anaſtaſio Epiſc. Theopol.*] *tanquam hypocritæ redarguuntur.*

b *Hor. Serm. l. 2. Sat. 3.* —— *Prudens placavi ſanguine Divos.*

c *Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 22. c. 3. de Miſſis in Hon. Sanct. p. 853. Quamvis in hon. & mem. Sanctorum nonnullas interdum Miſſas Eccleſia celebrare conſueverit, non tamen illis Sacrificium offerri docet, ſed Deo ſoli qui illos coronavit.*

rectly, or by plain conſequence, and not meerly by accidental abuſe, uſurp any honour which belongeth to God.

PART 3.

Of the Idolatry charged on the Papiſts *in their Worſhip of Saints.*

FIrſt, touching the Invocation of Saints, the Council of *Trent* determineth (*a*) that the ſpirits of holy "men reigning with Chriſt, are to be venerated, and "invoked: And that they offer Prayers to God for "us. Alſo, that it is good and lawful to pray to them, "and to flie to their Prayers; *their help and aid through* "*Chriſt the only Saviour and Redeemer of men.*

a *Concil. Trid: Inter Conc. Max.* p. 895. See the Bull of *Pius* the 4th. p. 944.

In purſuance of this Decree, the Church of *Rome* hath continued her practice of worſhipping Saints according to certain Forms of words preſcribed in ſuch Books as her Breviary and Miſſal, which the Popes by virtue of another Decree (*b*) of the ſame Council have reviſed, and for common uſe eſtabliſhed.

b *Conc. Trid. de Indice Librorum*, &c. p. 918: See *Conc. Aqu.* p. 135.

Now the forms and ſigns of Worſhip uſed in that Church are of ſuch a nature, that they ſeem at firſt view at leaſt, to give to the Saints, if not that honour which is incommunicable, yet that which God, though he might have given it, hath reſerved to himſelf. It may ſuffice to illuſtrate this matter, if I ſelect ſome Forms uſed in the *Officium Parvum* of the holy Virgin, which maketh a part of the *Romiſh* Breviary, ſet out in purſuance of the Decree of *Trent*, by *Pius* the fifth. In that Office the Virgin is worſhipped in theſe Forms (*c*).

c *Offic. Parv.* B.M. p. 89. *Ed. Antverp. Anno* 1583, & p. 96, &c.

Eſtabliſh us in peace.——Unlooſe the bonds of the guilty. Bring forth light to the blind. Drive away our evils. Make us, abſolved of our faults, meek and chaſte. Vouchſafe us a ſpotleſs life. Thou

a *Ib.* p. 90. *Thou art moſt worthy* (a) *of all praiſe.*——*Let all who commemorate thee, have experience of thy aſſiſtance.*——

b *Ib.* p. 102, & 107. *Vouchſafe* (b) *that I may praiſe thee, O Sacred Virgin, give me power againſt thy Enemies.*

c *Ib.* p. 103. *Let* (c) *the Virgin* Mary *bleſs us, and our pious offſpring.*

d *Ib.* p. 107. Mary, *Mother of Grace* (d), *Mother of Mercy! do thou defend us from the Enemy, and receive us at the hour of death.*

e *Ibid.* p. 94. *Lect.* 3. *Muſ. Offob.* We alſo find in that little Office this Exhortation aſcribed to *Bernard* (e): *Let us embrace, my Brethren, the footſteps of* Mary, *and let us caſt our ſelves at her bleſſed feet with moſt devout ſupplication. Let us hold her and not let her go till ſhe bleſs us; for ſhe is able.*

Theſe Forms are agreeable to many others in the former part of the *Roman* Breviary, out of which I will tranſcribe only the following Suffrages.

f *Brev. Rom. in Commm. de Sanctâ Mariâ*, p. 103. *Holy* Mary (f) *ſuccour the miſerable, help the weak-hearted, refreſh the weeping, pray for the people, mediate for the Clergy, intercede for devout women. Let all who celebrate thy Commemoration, feel* Thy Aid (g).

g See this Form with Additions in Serm. 2. *de Annun.* which ſome aſcribe to St. *Auſtin.*

h *Brev. Rom. ad Complet.* p. 107. *Hail, O Queen* (h)*! Thou Mother of mercy, life, ſweetneſs, and our Hope, we ſalute thee. To thee we the baniſhed children of* Eve, *do make our ſupplication. To thee we ſigh, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears. Go to therefore our Advocatreſs; turn towards us thoſe thy merciful eyes; and ſhew us after this our baniſhment, Jeſus, the bleſſed fruit of thy womb: O mild, O pious, O ſweet Virgin* Mary!

Many of theſe Suffrages taken in their plain and common meaning, do manifeſtly intrench upon the Prerogative of God. And of this kind alſo are thoſe *Romiſh* Prayers which are mentioned by Mr. *Thorndike* in the laſt part of his Epilogue (*i*), in which he treateth of the Laws of the Church. "The third ſort (ſaid he)

i Mr. *Thornd.* Epil. part. 3. p. 356, 357.

"of

" of [the Prayers of *Romaniſts* unto Saints] is, when " they deſire immediately of them the ſame bleſſings, " ſpiritual and temporal, which all Chriſtians deſire of " God. There is (as he proceeds) a Pſalter to be ſeen " with the name of God [or rather Lord] changed, " every-where into the name of Virgin. There is a " Book of Devotion in *French* with this Title, *Moyen* " *de bien Servir, prier, & adorer la Vierge* Marie: The " way well to ſerve (*a*), pray to, and adore the bleſ- " ſed Virgin. The [Prayers of this] third [ſort] taking " them at the foot of the Letter, and valuing the in- " tent of thoſe that uſe them by nothing but the words " of them, are meer Idolatries. As deſiring of the crea- " ture that which God only gives, which is the wor- " ſhip of the creature for the Creator, God bleſſed for " evermore. And were we bound to make the Acts of " them that teach theſe Prayers the Acts of the Church, " becauſe it tolerates them, and maintains (*b*) them in " it, inſtead of caſting them out, it would be hard to " free that Church from Idolatry, which whoſo ad- " mitteth can by no means grant it to be a Church.

a *Servir* anſwers to Λατρεύειν.

b Conſider whether the Church of *Rome* doth not make ſuch Prayers it ſelf, by making the foregoing publick Forms.

The Letter then of *Romiſh* Forms being very ſcandalous, thoſe who juſtifie the uſe of them muſt ſhew ſome other words wherein the *Romiſh* Church hath ſo explained her ſelf to the World, that men may plainly know ſhe never intended them in their common and native acception, but in a ſenſe agreeable to the tenure of Scripture; and of ſuch a ſenſe Mr. *Thorndike* in the place before cited, hath judged them capable.

If ſuch an Interpretation be by her promulgated to the World, the force of the Objection againſt ſuch Forms will be abated: abated I ſay, but not quite removed. For ſtill ſuch Forms are perilous amongſt the vulgar, who follow the received ſenſe of words not-

withſtanding their contrary Interpretations. There may indeed be a very arbitrarious uſe of ſigns; and if an Humoriſt will give this caution to his neighbour that when he uſeth the word, *black*, he muſt be interpreted as meaning, *white*, he ſhall not lye to him when he tells him that the Snow is *black*, and that the Crow is *white*; or when he writes himſelf *Blacklous* inſtead of *Thomas Albius*. But amongſt others, to whom ſuch caution is not given, and who underſtand nothing of this abſurd humor, his reſerved meaning will not ſalve the veracity of his word.

Now let it be examined, Whether the Church of *Rome* hath made before the world, a plain interpretation of the aboveſaid Forms, in ſuch ſort, that men cannot, without breach of charity, put upon them any other than this or the like conſtruction, avowed by many Doctors (*a*): *Holy* Mary, *pray for us in order to the obtaining theſe or other bleſſings from the alſufficient God*. Otherwiſe that Church is anſwerable for the common and ſcandalous meaning of the *Latine* words, which are not now proper to *Rome*, but the language of the World.

a See *S. Criſſy's Exomolog. Sect.* 3. c. 3. p. 438. *Ed.* 3. This is only that they would intercede for us, &c. In his Anſwer to Dr. *Pierce's* Serm. *c.* 16. of the Invoc. of Saints, *p.* 196. this only accord. to Card. *Perron, Prier pour Prier.* i.e. to deſire them to pray for us.

If ſuch an Interpretation be divulged we muſt look for it either in the Council of *Trent*, or in ſome following Synods, or in the Decrees of the Popes, or in the Catechiſm, Breviaries, Miſſals, or ſome other ſuch Books which are publickly authorized by that Church.

For the Breviarie and Miſſal, their Forms have been already produced; neither have I omitted any Antecedents and conſequents which may decipher ſome hidden meaning in them. It is true, ſome Litanies ſubjoin the ἐλέησον, or, *Have mercy*, only to the Perſons of the Sacred Trinity; uſing to Saints and Angels, the Form of *Orate pro nobis*, or *pray for us*. But they who

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in one Prayer deſire the Saints only to pray for them, do not barely by that one Prayer manifeſt to the World that they ſtill mean no more than the requeſting of their Interceſſions, when in an hundred other Forms they call upon them to beſtow this and that benefit upon them; and ſometimes a benefit which is not to be expected but from the Almightineſs of God.

For the Council of *Trent*, ſuch Forms, in the ratification at leaſt of their common uſe, following by virtue of its Decree, they ſeem rather to be Explications of the ſenſe of the Council, than to be by it explained. For that were to make the Key firſt, and the Lock which it ſhould open afterwards. But if the Breviary and Miſſal be explained by the Council, they receive a very dark Interpretation, and therefore next to inſufficient. For the common ſenſe of its Forms is naturally, or by cuſtom plain; and therefore their Explication in a forced ſenſe, though exceeding open, will ſcarce be admitted by the vulgar, who judg by that which is juſt before them. They like ordinary Travellers plod on in the common road which is before their eyes, and mind not the directions which are engraven or written on Pillars which ſtand on their right or left hand. That Church ſhould have been careful of the ſcandalous ſound of Idolatrous Forms, conſidering how tender Religion is of the Honour of God: and it ſhould have taken further care againſt the peril of that Idolatry which attendeth them; conſidering the weak capacities of the people, who will conſtrue Idolatrous Forms in an Idolatrous ſenſe. If the Pope ſhall ſet forth a thouſand Declarations concerning the Worſhip of one true God, and yet ſhall pray in this Form, Βάαλ ἐλέησον, *Baal have mercy*, inſtead of this ancient one, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy*; the World would judg of him as of a well-wiſher to *Baal*, though the name

does ſignifie no more than Lord; becauſe the common acceptance of it hath rendred it the ſign of a falſe god. In ſuch manner the World would judg, if he ſhould call on God by the name of ΖΕΥΣ, though it be but the word *DEUS*, or God, with a very little alteration.

It appeareth then that in ſome Forms a forced Interpretation doth not effectually ſhew the ſenſe which is vail'd under the Letter, or rather where the Letter looks a contrary way. And for the Forms of the Church of *Rome*, the Council of *Trent* does not give any open Interpretation of them, or ſo much as ſuggeſt that nothing is meant by them but an *Ora pro nobis*.

For the Council where it treateth of the Invocation of Saints (*a*), it doth not only mention the uſefulneſs of their *Prayers*, but alſo of their *help and aſſiſtance*; which aſſiſtance if it be no other than that of their Prayers, the addition of the words, *Help and Aid*, to that of *Prayers* may ſeem very ſuperfluous.

a *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* 25. *Decr. de Invocat. &c. Sanct.* p. 895. ——*bonum*—— *atque utile*—— *ad eorum Orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere.*

Something elſe that Church meaneth, and it is elſewhere expreſſed by *Patrocinium*, the aid of a Patron, or rather of a Guardian; for that it intendeth. In the little Office of the bleſſed Virgin this Collect is preſcribed (*b*), *We pray thee, Lord, let all thy Saints everywhere help us, that whilſt we celebrate their merits, we may feel their Patrocinie*, [or Protection.] I here interpret *Patrocinie* by Guardianſhip, aid, and protection, not only becauſe the word will bear that ſenſe [for in *Feſtus*, *Patrocinium*, is, *Tutela & defenſio*; and in *Cicero*, *Patronus*, is, *Cuſtos & defenſor Coloniæ*], but becauſe thoſe prayers refer to their Saints as to Patrons and Patroneſſes of perſons, places and things; of which more at large, in the purſuit of this Argument. In the ſixth Council of *Milan* (*c*), it is ſaid, "To be agreeable to "pious

b *Offic. parv. B. Virg.* p. 97.

c *Conc. Milev.* 6. c. 3. *de cultu Sanctorum*, p. 717.

"pious Reason, by Divine Offices, and Litanies, to im-
"plore the Intercession or Patrocinie of the Patrons
"of Cities and Provinces. From such Patrons they ex-
pect other aids besides those of their prayers; and they
tell how they appear in times of danger, and how a-
ctive they are in effecting their deliverance. In the Ca-
techism of *Trent* (*a*), that Church owneth Christ as the
only [that is, as they mean it, the principal] Patron.
And as it intends not to signifie by that word that
Christ doth no otherwise give aid to his Church than
by his Intercession; so neither doth it mean the like
by the Patrocinie of the Saints. The Council of *Trent*
mentions their Aids, besides their Prayers, and accor-
dingly the people pray for them in such Forms as these:
O holy Mary (*b*)——*stretch abroad the hand of thy mer-*
cy——*graciously* (c) *hear us in all our needs and necessi-*
ties, and leave us not comfortless, nor alone without help
in that dreadful day and hour, when our souls shall go out
of our bodies, but assist and help us, that we may then safe-
ly come and enter in at the gates of Paradise——*To thy*
(d) *help, O Virgin, Mother of God, poor women labour-*
ing in childbirth do fly: refuse them not in their necessi-
ties, but help them in all their distress, O blessed
Virgin.

a *Catech. ex Decr. Conc. Trid.* p. 392.

b In the Manual of *John Hulgham* in our Ladies Litany for *Saturday.* p. 380.

c *Ibid.* p. 382.

d *Ibid.* Prayers for Women travelling with child. p. 519, 520.

Vers. *In all our Tribulations and Anguishes.*

Resp. *The blessed Virgin-Mother succour us.* [Where we have a *Miserere*, not an *Ora.*]

Sometimes indeed the *Romanists* call the very prayer of the Virgin a protection, as in this form (*e*): *We be-*
seech thee, O Lord, that the glorious Intercession of the
ever-blessed and glorious Virgin Mary *may protect us, and*
bring us to everlasting life. But it is certain that they generally mean some further assistance than that of supplication when they call for it; for they are taught that the Saints are endued with such a power. Hence

e *Ibid.* the Lit. for *Saturday*, p. 386.

John Heigham in his Popiſh Manual (*a*), hath this Advertiſement as preparatory to Confeſſion. "Commend "thy ſelf unto Almighty God, to his bleſſed Mother, "and to thy good Angel, praying, that thou maiſt no "way be ſeduced, or deceived by the fraud of the "Devil. Alſo to St. *Mary Magdalene*, and to St. *Bar-*"*bara*: who as it is written, have obtained moſt effe-"ctual grace and favour of God to *aſſiſt in confeſſion*, "all ſuch as pray unto them for their help and aſſiſt-"ance.

a *J.H.Man.Pr. at S.Omers, An. 1620. p.584.*

If we proceed to other Councils later than that of the Council of *Trent*, inquiring in them for interpretations of *Romiſh* Offices; they are not in pretence any more than Provincial or National Synods, not general Councils. Wherefore the Interpretations of ſuch Synods (if any be found in them) are not ſufficient for the enlightning and manifeſting the ſenſe of the whole Church. But ſo far as my obſervation in the peruſal of them, may be of validity, I avouch that there is not in them ſuch an interpretation as referreth the ſenſe of the aboveſaid Forms, meerly to a praying to the Saints to pray for us. In many of them (*b*) the Doctrine of *Trent*, in this Article is owned and reinforced but not, that I know of, further explained.

b *Concil. Rhem. ſub Pio Quarto, p. 139. Tolet. p. 757. Rothom p. 823. Rhem. ſub Greg. 13. p. 886. Burdig. p 946. Turon. p. 1005. Biturg. p. 1069, & p. 1075. Aquenſ p. 1122. Mexic. p. 1351. Toloſ. p. 1380. Mechlin. p. 1542. Narbon. p. 1576, 1580.*

That which I find moſt oppoſite to the thing in hand, amidſt ſo vaſt an heap of Decrees, is a certain place in the Synod of *Cambray*: a Synod held, ſomewhat more than an hundred years ago (*c*) under *Maximilian a Bergis*, Archbiſhop and Duke of *Cambray*. The place which I mean is in the third Chapter, under the Title, *de ſanctis*; and thus it runs:

c *Concil. Camer. Ann. 1565. p. 176.*

"Let the Prayers of the Faithful follow the analogy "and proportion of Faith. Wherefore let the leſs "learned Populace be admoniſhed, that when they "viſit the Memorials of the Saints, and implore their

"aid,

"aid, and according to Christian custom, repeat the "Lords-prayer, that they understand that they direct "them not to the Saints but unto God; the Saints "being joined with them as Comprecators.

This sounds somewhat like a Plea from the *Roman* Church-men to the Populace of *Cambray*, if care be taken that they be instructed according to that Decree of their Synod. But that being a Decree enacted in a corner of the world, and in a private Synod, it cannot suffice in all those places where the *Roman* Offices are enjoined, and where the use of them is continual. Further, two things are here to be observed in reference to this Decree: First, That the Invocation of Saints as Patrons contradicteth not the analogy of the *Roman* Faith. Secondly, That the bringing of the Forms of Invocation to the Analogy of Faith in this Decree does not so much respect the Prayers in the Missal and Breviarie, as the Lords-prayer repeated more privately in the Litanies of the Saints (*a*).

Proceed we next to the *Roman* Decretals. In the new Decretals, which make the seventh Book in the body of their Canon-law, I can find nothing after the Creed of *Trent* urged upon all their Ecclesiasticks, in the Bull of *Pius* the fourth (*b*), besides the pressing of the same Form or Oath anew by *Pius* the fifth, upon the Doctors and Professors of all Faculties (*c*).

For the Catechism of *Trent*, I meet indeed with such an Interpretation of the forementioned Offices, as soundeth to them that do not well attend, as if all were meant of requesting the Prayers of Saints on our behalf. The place of that Catechism (*d*) is this which I am going to mention: "We do not after the same man- "ner pray to God and to the Saints. For we pray to "God, that he would give good things, and deliver "us from evil; but we beg of the Saints, because they "are

a See *Modum recitandi Orat. dom. una cum memoriâ & oratione sanctorum; in Horst. Parad. Animæ.* Sect. 2. c. 4 p. 107. &c.

b *Corp. Jur. Can.* l. 7. c. 4. p. 3.

c L. 7. *Decret.* c. 3. Tit. 5. p. 126.

d *Catech. ex Decr. Conc. Trid.* part. 4. c. 6. Sect. 1 num. 3. p. 512.

" are gracious with God, that they would take us in-
" to their Patronage, and procure of God the things
" we need. Hence we uſe two different Forms; for
" we ſay properly to God, *Have mercy on us*, *Hear us:*
" to a Saint, *Pray for us*: though upon another ac-
" count we may pray to the Saints themſelves to have
" mercy on us, for they are very merciful.

On this place it may not be amiſs if I beſtow theſe Animadverſions.

Firſt, When it is ſaid that *Roman-Catholicks* pray not to the Saints for the beſtowing of good, or the averting or removing of evil, this is meant of abſolute Prayer, (to uſe the terms of Cardinal *Perron*) by which we addreſs our ſelves to the firſt Cauſe, who is God; not of Relative ſupplication, by which they call on the Saints as ſubordinate conveyers of good, and averters of evil. So in the Hymn, *Ave Maris ſtella*, the Virgin is deſired to give light to the blind, and to drive away our evils (*a*).

a *Brev. Rom. in Feſt. Pur. p. 721 In Offic. B. M. p. 89, &c.*

Secondly, When *Papiſts* deſire the Saints to pray for them, becauſe they are gracious with God, they mean not this only of their deſire that the Saints would uſe their intereſt as Saints in their preſent caſe, for the procuring of Gods immediate help; but they alſo intreat them either to procure of God commiſſion to be their Patrons, or to continue his Grace to them in executing the commiſſion formerly given them. This, I ſuppoſe, is meant in thoſe Collects, " where they deſire " God to protect his people who truſt in the Patro-" nage of *Peter* and *Paul*, and other Apoſtles (*b*). And this *Horſtius* means in this form of Prayer to the Virgin (*c*): *I beſeech thee by that mighty favour granted thee by Chriſt, that thou wilt obtain for me more grace to pleaſe God.*

b *Offic. B. M. p. 97. See Miſſ. Rom. in Oct. annu. Sanct. p. 527. Fac nos, quæ ſumus, &c.*

c *Horſt. Pax. An. Sect. 2. p. 105.*

Thirdly, Though in the Litany where the Trinity

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is invoked with the form of, *Have mercy*; the Saints are called on with that of, *Pray for us*; (for the same form so nigh would have sounded ill, as if the Saints were equal with God); yet when the Saints are addressed to in distinct Collects or Hymns, the form is, *Help us*, as well as, *Pray for us*. Thus in the Hymn, *Alma Redemptoris Mater*. They (*a*) pray to the Virgin in the form of, *Peccatorum miserere*.

(*a*) *Brev. Rom. ad complet.* p. 106, 107.

Fourthly, Here is own'd a request both for Patronage and Prayer.

And further, in that Catechism (*b*), the Saints are called "Mediators and Patrons; and there is mention "(*c*) of their Aids; and their Worship (*d*) is con- "founded with that of Angels under the name of An- "gelical Spirits. And of them it is there affirmed, that "God hath appointed them to be his Ministers; that "he useth their Ministration in the Government, "both of his Church, and of other things; and "that by their help we are daily delivered from the "greatest dangers of Soul and Body.

(*b*) *Catech. Conc. Trid. Lugd.* 1569. p. 390.
(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 392.
(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 389.

For the Books of publick Offices, their Forms have been already produced; neither can I see where the Comment of any Rubrick removeth the scandal of their Text.

Concerning Manuals, they are usually composed by private Doctors, or devout Students, who often intermix the Glosses of their own Reason. But nothing less than the Church it self can authentickly explain its Universal practice. And for such Manuals as are authorized by the Church, to me they seem to transcend, rather than to come short of, the Forms of the Missal and Breviarie. Such a Manual is that of the *Hours* of of the Blessed Virgin, in which if there had been any such Explication of the Forms used to her, it had been shut up together with other Manuals, from the common

mon view of the Christian world, by the Interdict of any vulgar translation of it (*a*). For to every Country has not been granted the *Sclavonian* privilege (*b*): That people have been allowed the Books of their Religion in their vulgar tongue, with advice notwithstanding, to embrace the *Latin*, though to them an unknown language.

In the Province of *Mexico* it was decreed by the Synod (*c*), That no Books of Religion should be read without the permission of the Ordinary. And the Manuals which were appointed for the use of the people, whether *Spanish* or *Indian*, were not likely to expound to them the meaning of the *Roman* Forms; for their Contents were these: "The Lords-prayer; "The Salutation by the Angel; The Apostles Creed; "The Articles of Faith, [those in the Creed of *Trent*]; "The Precepts of the Decalogue; The Precepts of "the Church; The seven Sacraments; the seven deadly Sins; and the *Salve Regina*.

This *Antiphona* called *Salve Regina*, has been already repeated; and it is one of the higher Forms of the Worship of the Virgin. And Father *Paul* did in some measure shew his dislike of it (*d*), in forbearing to repeat it, as did his Brethren at the end of the Mass. But it is true, that he coloured his averseness with such an excuse as this, that he was not to observe a Decree of Thirty Fryars against the Order of the whole Church. Now in the abovesaid Synod of *Mexico* (*e*), there is a special inforcement of the singing of *Salve Regina* daily, and with all solemnity, during a great part of Lent. And the Bishops are there much prest to procure in this manner, with all solicitude, the increase of pious devotion towards the holy Virgin.

The *English* Romanists have had often in their hands the Manual of Godly Prayers, published at St. *Omers* by

a *Concil. Mediolan.* 3. p. 379. *Tolos.* c. 11. *de libb. prohib.* p. 1423. *Aven.* p. 1440, 1441, comp. with *Concil. Trid. Decret. de Edit. & usu Sacr. Libr.* p. 747.

b See *Concil. Aqu.* p. 1482. of the Books permitted in the *Illyrican* Tougue.

c *Syn. Mexic.* p. 1201, 1203, 1204.

d *Fulgentio* in the Life of Father *Paul* the *Venetian*, p. 43.

e *Syn. Mexic.* Sect. 12. p. 1298.

by *John Heigham.* In the ſixth Edition of that Book, I find no Explication of the Worſhip of Saints, but much which ſeemeth to advance it to a degree too high for it. Under the firſt (or in our account the ſecond Commandment) the Penitent is there (*a*) taught to confeſs this as one breach of it, that he hath not daily recommended himſelf to God and his Saints. In the Litany of our Lady he hath theſe Forms:

a Manual of *J.H.* p. 596.

O holy Mary (*b*), *ſtretch abroad the hand of thy mercy, and deliver our hearts from all wicked thoughts, hurtful ſpeeches, and evil deeds.*——*O holy* Mary (*c*) *we worſhip thee, we glorifie thee.* Words which are a part of that Religious Thankſgiving which the ancient Church offered to God, and called the Angelical Hymn.

b Man. of *J.H.* p. 380.

c *Ibid.* p. 381.

Horſtius in his Manual called the *Paradiſe of the Soul*, reprinted lately at *Colen*, and adorned with Sculptures, ſeems as devout as *Heigham* now cited; for thus he prays (*d*), or comments on *Grātia Plena: O bleſſed Virgin, be graciouſly pleaſed to pour forth that Grace of which thou art full; that the vein of thy benignity overflowing, the guilty may receive abſolution; the ſick, medicine; the weak in heart, ſtrength; the afflicted, conſolation; thoſe that are in danger, help and deliverance. O that I could but deſerve one drop of ſuch great fulneſs, for the refreſhing of my dry and parched heart!*

d *Horſt. Paradiſ. An.* Sect. 7. Sect. 7. *de B. Virg.* p. 446.

For the private Oral Inſtructions of the *Romiſh* Eccleſiaſticks concerning the uſe and intent of ſuch Forms, I pretend not to be well acquainted with them. But as to their publick Preaching I am not ignorant of one very common, and no leſs ſcandalous uſage. For the Preacher after a ſhort Preface which introduceth his Text or Subject, exhorts the Congregation to ſay *Ave Maria*, in order to a bleſſing upon that holy buſineſs about which they are aſſembled. And this the Reader may ſee not only in the more private Sermons of *Monſieur*

ſieur de Lingendes, but likewiſe in the more publick one of *John Carthenius* a *Carmelite*, at the Provincial Synod of *Cambray* (*a*).

By this Diſcourſe it plainly appeareth that the Letter of the *Roman* Forms in the Invocation of Saints, does to the moſt vulgar ears, ſound as Idolatrous: as alſo that that Church hath not provided any publick, direct, clear Interpretation of them, in its ſubſequent Synods, Miſſals, Breviaries, Catechiſm, Decretals, Authentick Manuals, or what I likewiſe may add, in its *Bullarium*, which (as ſhall anon be ſhewed) exalteth the Canonized into the condition of Patrons and Guardians of men.

There then remaineth this only to be ſaid by the learned of that Communion: That they who hear the Church profeſſing plainly its Faith in one ſupreme God in Trinity, cannot think it meaneth by any words whatſoever to give to the Creature the ſupreme Honour of that Trinity which it ſo ſolemnly acknowledgeth. And indeed ſeeing all the *Romaniſts* believe the Apoſtles Creed, ſeeing many of them appropriate all *Latria* to God; ſeeing they teach in their Manuals (*b*) that therefore all Prayers are ended with [*Through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*] "to ſignifie that whatſoever we "beg of God the Father, we muſt beg it in the name "of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom he hath given us all things; ſome allowance is to be made them in the Expoſition of thoſe Forms, which ſound as if the Saints were invoked with *Latria*. But yet it may be demanded, whether the Forms and practice of a corrupt Church may not contradict their general Rule of Faith? Whether the *Roman* Forms be applied to that Rule of Faith by any but prudent Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, who are not the greater number? Whether amongſt them they take not away ſome honour from God, though not that which

a *Concil. Camer.* p. 225. *Et vos Reverendiſſimi Domini mei, & Patres optimi, unà mecum, obſtero, ſummi Patris filiam ſpecioſam, ſummi filii matrem formoſam, ſummi Paracleti ſponſam gratioſam, totiuſque cœleſtis ac terrenæ Eccleſiæ Reginam, Gratiæ ac miſericordiæ matrem, ſalutare dignemini, dicentes, Ave Maria*, &c.

b Abridg. of Chriſt. Doctr. in the Expoſ. of the Maſs. p. 294.

which is abſolutely incommunicable? And whether a Church which calleth it ſelf Chriſtian and Catholick, ſhould not be more careful of publick Forms of ſpeaking in Prayer, (ſuch as may render the Supplicants Idolaters, in themſelves in the ignorant uſe of them; and to others by the external ſcandal) whatſoever licenſe the world takes in phraſes of common ſpeech. And here it were well if thoſe who ſo often alledg Mr. *Thorndike*, in favour of their cauſe, would weigh the words of a Letter of his, ſaid to be written about a year before he died (*a*). "To pray to the Saints (ſaith "he) for thoſe things which only God can give, as all "*Papiſts* do, is in the proper ſenſe of the words, Ido-"latry. If they ſay, their meaning is by a figure only "to deſire them to procure their requeſts of God, how "dare any Chriſtian truſt his ſoul with that Church "which teacheth that which muſt needs be Idolatry "in all that underſtand not that figure? They who believe not that theſe are his words, are ſure unacquainted with the writings of the Author (*b*), and the great Integrity of the Reporter. It is certain that among our ſelves in our more ordinary converſation, ſuch forms of ſpeech are uſed towards men, which in their extent are applicable to God. We ſay that ſuch Students had their *Grace* in the Senate-houſe; or that there they have been created Doctors, [a phraſe it ſeems too crude for the digeſtion of ſome (*c*) nice ſtomacks.] When the weak are purſued by a ſavage Beaſt, or by a man cruel as ſuch a creature, they run into the arms of kinder perſons, and deſire them *to ſave them and deliver them.* And becauſe theſe Forms are uſed to men by thoſe who own nothing but what is humane in them, and becauſe the matter of their requeſt is apparently ſuch too, and in the power of man; theſe equivocal phraſes are by general acknowledgment, determined

a Dr. *H. M.* of the Idol. of the Church of *Rome*, p. 321, 322.

b See the like ſenſe in Mr. *Thornd. Epil.* part. 3. p. 356, 357. cited here c. 10. part. 3.

c *Aſſ. Annot. in* Gen. 1. 1. The *Hebrew* word *Bara* is a word in its proper ſenſe, proper and peculiar to God: and therefore ſhould not be attributed to men, how great ſoever. Yet it is a familiar phraſe in the ſtile of the Court to ſay, ſuch a one was created Earl or Marqueſs, or Duke, *&c.*

mined to one ſenſe. But were civil Forms more liable to miſtake, a Church, ſure, ſhould exerciſe a more tender care in thoſe of Religion; and chuſe ſuch as might be apter to edifie than miſlead the meaneſt in her Communion.

Now in ſuch Forms of common ſpeech as I have mentioned, though there is not any proper worſhip of men, yet there is more deſired of them, than that they would pray to God for us. When *Eſau* beſeeched his Father *to bleſs him*, he did not merely requeſt him to pray for a bleſſing, but to pronounce over him that ſentence of Benediction, which he as the Father of that Family had commiſſion from God to pronounce with authority and to effect. And when an importunate widow does by her repeated crys for vengeance, or publick juſtice for deliverance and ſafeguard, render the very ears of an unjuſt Judg attentive; ſhe intreats more of him than that he would ſpeak for her to the King. She ſuppoſeth him in commiſſion, and indued with power to help her, though ſhe knows him in this very point of his aſſiſtance to be ſubordinate to his Prince.

There is more in the Forms of the *Roman* Church than the bare indiſcretion of them. And though the incommunicable honour of God be not by their meaſure, the rule of Faith, devolved on the creature (for a Papiſt ſo interpreting thoſe Forms, ſhould by that Church be condemned as an Heretick, and a violater of the fundamental Article of one God in Trinity;) yet ſtill to me it ſeemeth, that the honour which God hath not actually communicated, is by them miſplaced on Angels, at leaſt on Saints.

I do not, in ſaying this, ground my perſwaſion barely on the common Argument of that Ubiquity which many conclude to be aſcribed to Saints and Angels in the

the Invocation of them (*a*). The foundation of that Argument is laid on a matter which is diſputed. For they who contend that the Angels hear or know what is done on Earth, do expreſly deny Ubiquity to them. Though ſome private *Romaniſts* have mentioned appearances of the perſon of the Virgin in diſtant places at the ſame time; and others have repreſented her or ſome other Saint as dwelling in a particular ſtatue. And to ſuch it is proper to put the queſtion of *Arnobius*: "Let us ſuppoſe (ſaid he) that there are ten thouſand "Statues of *Vulcan* in all the world, can that one Deity be in ſo many thouſand habitations at one time? But others infer this knowledg in the Saints and Angels, partly from the perfection of their ſpiritual nature, by which (ſaith (*c*) Dr. *Holden*) they know all the natures, motions, and actions of Corporeal things; partly from their perſonal preſence as Guardians of men, and as Gods Retinue in Religious Aſſemblies; and partly from the Revelation of God, and from what they call the Glaſs of the Trinity, [a mirrour of which I profeſs my ſelf very ignorant, and which my curioſity deſires not to look into; and which the inventers might in reverence have ſpared, rather than to have expoſed the eſſence of God as a ſubſtance reflecting all viſible Ideas]. They gather this alſo in part from the Intelligence given by ſome Angels unto the reſt, who are of the ſame community.

a *Confeſſ. Wirtemb.* p. 122. *Talis —— Petitio exigit, ut is qui rogatur, ſit ubique præſens, & exaudiat petitionem. Hæc autem Majeſtas ſoli Deo competit; & ſi tribuitur Creaturæ, creatura adoratur.*

b *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 6. p. 204.

c *Holden in Div. Fid. Anal.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 294.

This they ſay plauſibly concerning Angels; for of Saints they have much leſs ground thus to ſpeak. Only this may be allowed them concerning both; that being ſpirits, we know not whether ſuch diſtance as that of this world does hinder communication. For if it be not done by motion, they may (poſſibly) as well underſtand at the diſtance of an hundred miles, as at that of a furlong. This only I obſerve by the way as an Objection,

jection, That the Ancients, who are ſaid to Platonize, held neither Angels nor Souls departed to be uncloathed Spirits, but united to Bodies of *Æther* or *Aer*. Wherefore it ſeemeth that their knowledg of external, material objects, muſt depend on Phyſical motion, which by diſtance is ſcattered or diverted from the ſtreightneſs of its lines, and conſequently from the exact truth of its intelligence.

It is moſt probable that Angels are often abſent from grown men, eſpecially whilſt they remain in ordinary circumſtances. And the Scripture ſpeaks of the Angels as being, on this or the other occaſion, ſent to men, and then removed from them. This is manifeſt in the known caſes of *Abraham*, *Daniel*, S. *Peter*, S. *John*, and the bleſſed Virgin her ſelf. More probable ſtill it is, that the ſame Angel hath not intelligence, not only of all the affairs of the world, but of all the prayers that are addreſſed to him. For many ſuch Addreſſes being very improper, and ſometimes immoral, we muſt not think that God or other good Angels are concerned in telling him the news of them, unleſs it be in order to puniſhment.

And for the Saints whom God hath not (that we know of) made miniſtring ſpirits; who are not, before the Reſurrection and final Judgment, in complete glory; of whoſe appearing after death, the Scripture hath given us, in the Old Teſtament, but one inſtance, and that a very doubtful one (it not being certain whether it was the Apparition of *Samuel*, or of the Devil, or the Impoſture of the Witch of *Endor* ſpeaking inwardly:) And, in the New, but that one (as I remember) of *Moſes* and *Elias* when Chriſt was tranſfigured. It is not ſo much as by probable arguments yet evinced, that they know our particular eſtate, though it is evident that they wiſh well to the world

of

of mankind, and especially to the body of the Christian Church. For sure they lose not their affection in Heaven, where, whilst some other Graces cease, Charity is eternal and in perfection.

Wherefore, though the praying to Saints and Angels may not necessarily infer their Ubiquity; and for that reason be called Idolatrous; yet if they hear us not, it may be called an unwarranted, impertinent, idle labour. It is, as Saint *Paul* (*a*) speaketh, *an intruding into the things which we have not seen.* And certainly when we pray not only to those that do not hear us, but to such as have no existence but in fiction; it is emphatical impertinence. What else are the seven sleepers, considered as such? And yet in the institutions of a spiritual life (*b*) published with Elogy, by *Sfondratus* (afterwards a Pope by the name of *Gregory* the fourteenth), and composed by a nameless Virgin, those seven are selected together with a few others, as Saints to be venerated with especial devotion. What else are S. *Sulpitius*, and S. *Severus*, considered as distinct persons? and yet in an ancient and fair *Romish* Manual (*c*), I find this to be part of a Litany: *Holy* Sulpitius, *pray for me: Holy* Severus, *pray for me.* Also, *Holy Faith, pray for me: Holy Hope, pray for me: Holy Charity, pray for me.* The learned Bishop *Montague* (*d*) doth call the "*Romish* Invocation of Saints a "*Point of Foolery:* It being (he saith) at least uncer- "tain, whether they are, and in what manner they "can be acquainted with our wants, seeing their con- "dition is not to attend us, and they are removed far "above our reach and call. He entertained the like opinion of praying to such Angels as are not Guardians. But of them that are such, he supposeth them to be ever in *procinctu*, nigh at hand to men, and in attendance on them all their days. Hence he seeth no impiety.

a Col. 2. 18.

b *Inſtit. ſpirit.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 54. ——*Viſum fuit mirorum inſtituere ſanctorum, non omnium ſed quorundam, quos ſeligi, majori quadam devotione & cultu proſequendos*, &c. p. 58.

c *S. Bernardin. Alex. SS. Sept. Dormient. S. Placid.* &c.

d *Mſ. ap: M. R. W. de S. J.* Biſh. *Mont.* in his Treatiſ. of the Invoc. of Saints, p. 98.

a Bish. *Mont. Ibid.* p. 97, 98.

ty in this Addreſs (a), *Sancte Angele cuſtos ora pro me*, Holy Guardian-Angel pray for me. [He had put the matter more out of doubt, if he had ſuppoſed the Angel appearing, and certainly known to be an holy ſpirit of that quality.] But for the Invocation of "other Angels he thinketh it as fooliſh and ridiculous, "as his praying to a friend at *Conſtantinople* to help "him, whilſt he himſelf is at *London*.

Others have gone further in their cenſure, and they have called the Invocation of Saints more than an impertinent, that is, a ſinful, though not an Idolatrous practice. And indeed ſo plain a miſuſe of a mans reaſon cannot but be offenſive to the Creator, who gave it not to man that he ſhould trifle with it. But this is not their manner of arguing. They tell us ſuch Invocation is not of Faith; and that whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. But what Art of thinking teacheth them to draw conſequences on this faſhion? "Whatſoever is "done by man againſt the preſent perſwaſion of his "Conſcience, which admits it with great reluctancy "as irreligious, is in him ſinful: Therefore the Invo-"cation of Saints or Angels by *Papiſts*, who deſire "them to pray for them when they do not hear, though "they in their Conſcience believe they do; is a wick-"ed practice, becauſe it ariſeth not from faith or per-"ſwaſion. Had they ſaid every thing in ſuch weak and unconcluding Logick, they had wounded their own cauſe more than that of their Adverſaries.

If now there were nothing in this *Romiſh* Invocation beſides their deſire of Angels and Saints to pray for them to God Almighty, I ſhould forbear to call it Idolatry, and give it the ſofter names of miſperſwaſion, impertinence, irrational or fruitleſs beating the air. For they amongſt them who are the more prudent, ſuppoſe the Saints to hear them by other means than

by Divine Omnipreſence, and infiniteneſs of Underſtanding; and they call upon them for ſuch an Office as a good man on earth would do for them, much more a Saint or Angel in Heaven. For what Chriſtian will deny the Petition of his Neighbour, when he deſireth him only to pray to God for him? unleſs perhaps he neglecteth Prayer himſelf, and appeareth to have ſinned a ſin unto death, of which they are ſcarce guilty, who beg the Prayers of others; ſuch piety being ſeldom diſcerned either in preſumptuous Chriſtians, or in Apoſtates.

But in the *Romiſh* Invocation there is much more than a praying to Saints and Angels to pray for us. It is not indeed intentionally the worſhip of any of them under the notion of a ſupreme God, how high a note ſoever doth ſound in their Forms; for that their own Church renounceth as Idolatry. And the Church-men teach the people (*a*), "That it is lawful to worſhip "Angels and Saints with *Dulia*, or inferior honour, "proportioned to their Excellency, but not as God, "or with Gods honour. They give not to them Gods incommunicable honour, if they underſtand the Rule of their Faith; but to me they ſeem to give them honour beyond the proportion of their Excellency, even that which God hath to himſelf reſerved. This is plain by the natural conſtruction of their Forms, which they have not otherwiſe interpreted, but confirmed this meaning of them by their Doctrines, and by their daily practice. This is that which I here mean, and think I ſhall evince: That though they make not any Saint or Angel the ſupreme Governour of the World, yet they conſtitute the Spirits of either kind, Deputies or Lieutenants under God, and ſuppoſe him not only as occaſion ſerveth, to uſe their Miniſtry, but to make them Guardians, Patrons, and Patroneſſes; and to

(*a*) Abridg. of Chriſt. Doctr. in Expoſ. of 1. Command. P. 123.

allow them for ſuch upon the choice of Worſhippers on Earth. They inſtruct the people in their Manuals, not only how to addreſs themſelves to their Guardian-Angels (*a*), but alſo to chuſe and worſhip their Guardian Saints (*b*). "They teach them (*c*) in their daily "Exerciſes to remember ſuch Saints, that for every of-"fice of life they may take to them particular Aſſiſt-"ants; that ſo they may pray with this Saint, and "ſleep with that: That one Saint may be preſent at "their Canonical Hours when they read; that ano-"ther may be by when they hear a ſacred Lecture; "when they work, when they dine, when they ſup. "They teach them (*d*) to ſelect one or more out of "the number of the Saints as their Patron; to love "them, to imitate them; through their hands to offer "daily all their works to God; to commend them-"ſelves to their protection morning and evening, and "at other times, eſpecially in difficulties and tentati-"ons; to uſe them as witneſſes and directors of their "Actions.

They give to this Spirit this precinct, and that to another. They give to ſome Authority over this diſeaſe, to others over that. They ſubſtitute ſome over one part of nature, and others over another part of it; though I think they do not quite tye them from intermedling in one anothers Dioceſſes or Precincts. And St. *Paul* the Patron of Mariners may be called upon in a Fever; and St. *Luke* the Patron of Phyſicians, may have his aid implored in a Tempeſt (*e*).

This is an opinion maintained by them without imputation of Hereſie: This they conceive to be conſiſtent with the Worſhip of one ſupreme God; to this they conform their daily practice. This Lieutenancy of Saints if they do not really hold, their Church is a very

a *Horſt. Parad. Animæ, de cultu & Ven. SS. Ang. & Præcip. Ang. Cuſt. Admon.* Sect. 2. c. 2. p. 94, &c.

b *Inſtit. Spirit.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 58. —*Cum iis quos mihi in Patronos & Patronas elegi, ſingularis, quantum quiſque poſſet, totis viribus, cultus & reverentia debeatur*, &c. *Horſt. Parad. An.* Sect. 2. c. 3. *de Patronis è Sanctorum numero eligendis & ſingulis peculiari devotione colendis.* p. 100, 101, &c.

c *Inſtit. Spir.* p. 63. *Doctbar Sanctorum*, &c.

d *Horſt. Parad. An.* Sect. 2. p. 100. *Patronum è Sanctorum numero*, &c.

e See *Cardin. Perron. in reſ. Reſp. Reg. Jacobi.* l. 5. c. 3.

very *Roma Subterranea*, and there is nothing of its meaning to be discerned above ground.

This opinion and practice had been the more tolerable if they had restrained it unto Angels, of whose presence, knowledg, ministration, the Scripture hath spoken; but they extend it to Saints, and for the holy Virgin, their devotion is greater towards her, than towards the highest Angel; she being called the Queen of those Heavenly Powers (*a*). The Authoress of the Spiritual Institutions (*b*) prays not only to the Angels, to the Angel-Guardian of her Person, and to the Angel-Guardian of her Religion, [that is, of her Order], but likewise to St. *Bernardine*, St. *Placidus*, and other Saints (*c*), as to her selected Patrons. And *Horstius* (a man of rank devotion towards Spirits, and often to be remembred by me) treateth first of the Worship of Saints, and of them as Patrons; and then of the Worship of Angels and Angel-Guardians. Concerning Angels he sheweth that holy men, such as he so esteemeth, did both pray to their Guardian-spirit (*d*), and to such "Angels as were Presidents of Kingdoms, Provinces, "Cities, Towns, with solicitous zeal; and he nameth "St. *Xavier*, St. *Aloysius*, and St. *Francis*; and calleth "to mind the singular devotion of the last towards "St. *Michael* the Archangel.

Then for the Saints he celebrates them as such (*e*), "Who being formerly servants and stewards, are now "set over all the Goods of their Lord in the land of "the living. He saith (*f*) that it belongeth to their "praise and glory that their Aid be invoked, and that "they protect us in necessity. And he teacheth his "Reader thus to worship the Virgin: *Holy* Mary, "*Mother of God, and Virgin, I, though unworthy to* "*serve thee, yet trusting in the clemency of thy Mother-*"*ly heart, chuse thee this day before my Guardian-Angel* "*and*

a *Horst. Parad.* p. 101. *Sancta Trin. misereri nobis. Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis. Sancte Michael, Archangele, Ora.*

b *Instit. Spir.* p. 55.

c *Kad. ibid.* p. 58.

d *Horst. Parad. An.* Sect. 2. p. 93, 96.

e *Horst. ib. in Dedic. ante* Sect. 2. p. 87. *Pidelis olim servi —— nunc constituti super omnia bona domini in terrâ viventium.*

f *Ibid.* p. 90. *— ut invocetur in auxilium, & in necessitate nos protegant.*

" *and the whole Court of Heaven, for my Mother and pe-*
" *culiar Lady, Patroness, and Advocatrix. And I firm-*
" *ly resolve henceforth to serve* (a) *thee and thy Son, with*
" *fidelity, and perpetually to adhere to you. I beseech thee*
" *by that love by which thy Son when he was giving up*
" *the Ghost upon the Cross, commended himself to his Fa-*
" *ther, and thee to his true Disciple, and him again to*
" *thee; to take me into thy care and protection; and be*
" *thou with me in all the straits and dangers of my whole*
" *life; but especially help me in the hour of my death.*
" Amen.

a *Tibi & filio tuo*, worse than *Ego & Rex meus.*

I have said that it is more tolerable to pray thus to Angels, than it is to Saints; but I can find little ground in Reason or Scripture thus to worship the Angels themselves. Reason teacheth that God who made the World is the Governour of it. The Scripture teacheth that there are distinct Orders of Angels, but it disallowes of such Lieutenancy under God, as men have ascribed to them. It mentioneth Thrones, and Powers, and Dominions, and Principalities; yet rather in allusion to the *Gnosticks* (as was above conjectured) than by way of assertion of such Orders. Those Heretieks *Irenæus* provoketh to tell what (*b*) is the nature of " Invisible Beings, what is the number and order of " Angels, what are the Mysteries of Thrones, and the " diversities of Dominions, Principalities, Powers, " Virtues; and he assureth us they were at a loss. So ignorant was the Christian World in his time of the Nine Orders of the feigned *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*. That there are distinct Orders of Spirits; that there are Angels and Archangels, I firmly believe. But it does not thence follow, that the Government of the World is shared amongst them, though they have a Ministerial part in the affairs of it. Archangels seem no other than the seven Spirits typified by the seven

b *Iren. l. 2. adv. Hær. cap. 54. p. 212. Dicant nobis quæ sit Invisib. nat. &c. Sed non habent dicere.*

Lamps

Lamps in the Temple (*a*). Their Office was as elect and eminent Spirits, to miniſter before the Throne of God, and on ſolemn occaſions to be ſent in Embaſſie to the World. Such a one was *Gabriel*, who ſtood in the Preſence of God; and was ſent to the Bleſſed Virgin. Nothing of this inferreth their diſtinct Provinces committed to them, but it ſheweth only the dignity of their ſtation, and their occaſional Miniſtry. Neither doth it follow from the ſeven Angels mentioned as Preſidents of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, that they, as ſome have taught, were under the Charge and Patronage of ſeven Spirits. For St. *John* is required to write to theſe Angels (*b*), and to reprove their faults, [as the abatement of Love in the Angel of *Epheſus* and his Church.] And he makes diſtinct mention (*c*) of the ſeven Spirits, and the ſeven Stars, which latter he had ſhewed to be the Angels of thoſe Churches (*d*), and who were therefore no other than the Biſhops of them, called by a name which is given the High Prieſt, in the Prophet *Malachy* (*e*), and by the *Jews* in *Diodorus* (*f*).

Chriſtian Religion owneth but one proper Subſtitute under God, one *Paraclete* or Patron, (for ſo (*g*) that title ſignifies) one proper Mediator, the glorified Jeſus; the Spirits under him are but Angels or Meſſengers, though ſent abroad on different Embaſſies. Wherefore I know not how to approve of the expreſſion of a late very grave and learned Author; "who (*h*) "ſpeaketh of the Inviſible Regiment of the World by "the ſubordinate Government of good and evil An"gels. It is true that the good are a Community [and ſo in ſome ſort are the bad] but their divers Orders concern their own ſociety moſt; and they are not to be conſtrued as the Orders and Powers in the frame of Gods Government of the whole World. It is alſo to be confeſſed

a Rev. 4. 5. & 8. 2.

b Rev. 1. 19, 20. & 2. 1, 2, 3, 4.

c Chap. 3. 1.

d Chap. 1. 20.

e Mal. 2. 7.—Διότι ἄγγελος κυρίου παντοκράτορός ἐστιν.

f *Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 1154.

g See *Dalliſſ. D. Outram de Sacrificiis.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 360, 361, &c.

h *Contemplat. Divin. & Mor.* 2. part. p. 98.

confeſſed that *Eliſha's* ſervant (to reflect a little on his inſtance) ſaw fiery Chariots and Horſmen in the Mount: and that this was a repreſentation of Gods Angels in the ſcene of a Camp. But no other Argument ought to be fetched thence, beſides that which concludeth that there is a greater power in God and his Cœleſtial Miniſters than in the Armies of the World. He that will torture this Viſion, and make it confeſs commiſſi-on-Officers amongſt them, ought alſo to make them ride on Horſes and Chariots. For evil Angels, their dominion is oftner mentioned than that of the good. But certainly, though they are called in Scripture, *Principalities and Powers*, no man that carefully attendeth to his words, will call them alſo ſubordinate Governours of the World. For they are profeſſed Rebels againſt God, who doth not own or treat them as his ſubjects; but he being provoked by the perverſeneſs of wicked men, permitteth thoſe rebellious Dæmons to exerciſe great power amongſt the children of diſobedience, who are in indirect Covenant with them.

It is worſe ſtill to ſay, that God ruleth the World by Saints, than to affirm ſo much of him in reference to his holy Angels: yet this the *Romaniſts* openly maintain (*a*), and ſome alſo who have not only diſputed, but even raved againſt the Church of *Rome*. For ſo it is ſaid by *Thomas Goodwin* in his Sermon of the fifth Monarchy (*b*), "That the Saints on earth "have by their Prayers an influence in the managing "the affairs of the World, and into the accompliſhi-"ment of all the great things that Chriſt doth for his "Church. That though it may be, and it is certain, "they have not in all Ages known (according to what "is in the Propheſie of St. *John*) what Jeſus Chriſt "will do next; yet that ſtill by the ſpirit of Propheſie,

a Bellar. l. 1. c. 18. *de Beat. Sanct.* endeavors to prove, *non ſolum ab Angelis ſed etiam à ſpiritibus beatorum hominum regi & gubernari fideles viventes.*

b T. G. on Rev. 5. 9, 10. p. 6. Lond. 1654.

'as it were, the Saints have been guided to ſeek for 'thoſe things at the hands of God and Chriſt, which he 'was about to accompliſh. Alſo, that the Saints in 'Heaven, *before the day of Judgment, have a ſhare and 'an hand in Chriſts government of the world:* and that 'they have a knowledg (*a*) (by the Angels that are 'continually Meſſengers from Heaven to Earth) of the 'great things that are done here. And he that writeth the Epiſtle to the Reader, maketh this Application of Mr. *Goodwins* Doctrine: 'Now (ſaith he) what may 'we think the Saints in Heaven (who within theſe ten 'years laſt paſt, loſt their lives in the Cauſe of Chriſt '[he meaneth the Army-Saints, from the year forty-'four, to that of fifty-four, who dy'd in mainte-'nance of the *Bad Old Cauſe*]) are EMPLOYED 'ABOUT at this time; they underſtanding by the 'Angels what great ——[changes] are come to paſs on '*our Earth*?

a T. G. p. 8.

Thoſe of whoſe Saintſhip we have better aſſurance, though in a ſtate of reſt and light, are eſteemed by the Fathers but a kind of Free Priſoners, not being acquitted by the publick Sentence of the General Judgment (*b*). And their opinion who give them a Lieutenancy under God in the Government of the World before that day, does recall to my mind the Argument uſed by that truly great man Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his own unhappy Caſe: He pleaded that the grant of a Commiſſion from the King, did argue him to be abſolved; and that he who had power given him over others, was no longer under a ſentence againſt his own life. *Abraham* and *Iſaac* do not now rule us, and it may be, they are ignorantt of us: which whilſt I affirm, I do not wholly ground my Aſſertion on the Text in *Iſaiah* (*c*). That ſoundeth otherwiſe, whether we take it in its poſitive or hypothetical ſenſe. Its poſitive ſenſe may

b See *Irm.* l. 5. c. 31. p. 431. —*Animæ abibunt in inviſibilem locum,* —*& ibi uſque ad Reſurrectionem commorabuntur, &c.*

c Iſa. 63. 16.

may be this: "Doubtleſs thou art our Father, not-
"withſtanding we live not under the care of *Abraham*
"or *Iſaac*, but are by many generations removed from
"them, who therefore knew us not (*a*), or own'd us
"not, we being not men of their times; we are their
"ſeed however, though at a great diſtance; and to
"ſuch alſo was thy promiſe made. And for the Hypo-
"thetical ſenſe it may be this: Be it ſuppoſed that
"*Abraham* knows nothing of us, yet certain we are that
"thou art the God of *Iſrael* whoſe knowledg and care
"of thy people never faileth.

a LXX. Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἔγνω ἡμᾶς, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἐπέγνω ἡμᾶς.

I admit here, that the Saints pray for the Church in general, that Angels are concerned in particular Miniſtrations; but that Angels and even Saints have ſhares of the Government of the World, though in ſubordination to God, ſo as to be Commiſſion-Officers under the King of Heaven, and not only Attendants on his Throne, and as it were Yeomen and Meſſengers of his Court, (the general condition of the Angels) I cannot admit without peril of Idolatry.

b Dion. Halicarnaſſ. l. 8. —— καὶ ὁμᾶς, ὦ θεοὶ πάτριοι, καὶ ἑστία πατρῴα, καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τόπον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε.

This in my conceit is the great reſemblance betwixt the *Romaniſts* and the Gentiles: Both of them ſuppoſe the World to be ruled under God, by ſeveral Orders of Dæmons and Heroes; though I have confeſſed already that they are not ſo exactly alike but that *Rome*-Chriſtian may be diſtinguiſhed from *Rome*-Pagan. For the Gentiles, ſo much hath been ſhewn already; and it may appear further, from the place of the *Greek* Hiſtorian cited in the Margent (*b*). And for the *Romaniſts*, that too hath already been manifeſted in part, and ſhall be further declared: and *Rivallius* in his Hiſtory of the Civil Law, or Commentary on the Twelve Tables (*c*), does very honeſtly confeſs it. He having commented on that Law which ordereth the worſhip of the Heathen gods, both Dæmons and Heroes, letteth

c *Ayn. Rivallii Hiſt. Jur. Civ.* l. 2. p. 45. *Chriſtiani ſimilem huic Religionem ſervant, nam Deum immortalem colunt, & virtute præditos miraculiſque fulgentes magnâ pompâ & inquiſitione, primò in is Divos referunt, deindè venerantur, poſt Templa eis conſtruunt; ut de divis* Joanne, Petro, Catharinâ, Nicolao, Magdalenâ, *& aliis videmus.*

fall

fall words not unfit to be here gathered up by us. "Christians (saith he, meaning those of the *Roman* "Communion) retain a Religion like to this; for "they worship God immortal: and for those that ex- "cel in Virtue, and shine with Miracles, first with "great pomp and inquisition they register them a- "mong the Deities [or Saints] and then they worship "them, and after that they erect Temples to them; as "we see in the case of S. *John*, S. *Peter*, S. *Catherine*, "S. *Nicholas*, S. *Magdalen*, and other Deities.

In this point, then, let us join issue, and offer on our side the manifestation of these particulars.

First, On what occasions this worship of Ruling-spirits came into the Church.

Secondly, How it derogateth from the honour of God as Governour of the World.

Thirdly, How it derogateth from the honour of Jesus as the Mediator and King ordained by God.

First, For the occasions of this Worship, I conceive them to be especially these two; The Celebration of the Memory of the Martyrs at their Tombs; and the compliance of the Christians with the Northern Nations when they invaded *Italy* and other places, in hope of appeasing them, and effecting their conversion.

First, I reckon as an occasion of this Worship, the celebration of the memory of the Martyrs at their Tombs, and Monuments, and Reliques, and in the Churches sacred to God, in thankfulness for their Examples. The thankful and honourable commemoration of the Martyrs, was very ancient and innocent at the beginning. For, as the Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, concerning the Martyrdom of St. *Polycarp*, testifies (*a*), "They esteemed the bones of the Mar- "tyrs more precious than Jewels; They kept their "Birth-days [that is, the days of their Martyrdom on

(*a*) Ep. Eccles. *Smyrn.* ap. Euſ. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 15. p. 134, 135.

" which they began moſt eminently to live]; they pur-
" ſu'd them with a worthy affection, as Diſciples and
" Imitators of Chriſt, but they worſhipped none but
" Chriſt, believing him to be the Son of God (*a*). But
laudable Cuſtoms degenerate through time. And this,
in the fourth Century, began to be ſtretched beyond
the reaſon of its firſt inſtitution, as appeareth by the
Apoſtrophe's of St. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*,
and others of that Age. Afterwards the vanity of men ran
this Uſage into a dangerous extreme; and thoſe who
had been commemorated as excellent and glorified Spi-
rits, and whoſe Prayers were wiſhed, were directly
invoked and worſhipped as the ſubordinate Gover-
nours of Gods Church.

This Veneration of the Martyrs, which ſuperſtition
thus ſtrained, was occaſioned by the Miracles which
God wrought where his Martyrs were honoured.
Times of Perſecution at home, and of Invaſion from
abroad, required ſuch aids for the Encouragement of
Catholick Chriſtians, and the Converſion of Infidels
and misbelievers. Thus in the days of St. *Auſtin*, [in
whoſe Age the *Getæ* or *Goths* ſacked *Rome*, and many
of the barbarous people imputed the preſent misfor-
tunes of *Italy* to the Chriſtian Religion (*b*),] God plea-
ſed to work Miracles at the Bodies of the Martyrs,
Protaſius and *Gervaſius* (*c*), in the City of *Milan*. Thus
(as is reported by *Procopius* and *Egnatius*) he miracu-
louſly ſaved thoſe Chriſtians at *Rome*, and Pagans
alſo (*d*), both in the time of *Alaricus* and *Theudoricus*,
who fled to the Churches of St. *Paul*, and St. *Peter*.
And he did it, ſaith *Grotius* (*e*), by a Providence like
to that by which they were ſaved in *Jeruſalem*, who
had kept the Law, which was ſignified by the Letter
Thau [that is, *Thorah* the Law,] written on their fore-
heads, as is ſaid in *Ezekiel*. They went out of *Babylon*,

a —— ὅυτε ἐ-
τηρὶν τιμᾶ
σίβιον, οὕτω
μᾶλ ὃ ὑὸν
ὄντα τῦ Θεῦ,
προσκυνῦμεν.
p. 134. D.

b See *Ludov. Viv. Præf. in Comm. ſuos in Civ. Dei.* p. 22, &c.

c *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei.* l. 22. c. 8. *De miraculis quæ, ut mundus in Chriſtum crederet, facta ſunt*, &c. p. 1339.

d *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei.* l. 1. c. 1. p. 34. *Tranſtantur hoc Martyrum loca, & Baſilicæ Apoſtolorum, quæ in illâ vaſtatione urbis ad ſe confugientes ſuos* [h.e. *Chriſtianos*] *alienoſq;* [h.e. *Paganos*] *receperunt.*

e *Grotius in Append. ad Comment. de Antichriſto.* p. 126, 127.

or *Rome*, to the holy places which stood without the City, and there remained in undisturbed peace, more by Gods protection, than the *Gothick* Clemency; though by the Edict of *Alarick*, such Churches were made the Sanctuaries of Christians (*a*).

This Instance, no doubt, heightned the veneration of many towards the Martyrs, though God wrought such things, not as testimonies of the power of the Martyrs, but as supports to the Christian Religion. And this being an Instance in the *Gothick* story, it reminds me of

The second occasion of the worship of Spirits as Rulers of the World in certain Precincts, especially in this Western Church; to wit, the Invasion of the Northern Nations, who sought their preferment by quitting their own Country. In *Rome* it self a great number of the Senators worshipped Idols in the very reign of *Theodosius* the Great. And many worshippers of false gods, upon the Sack of *Rome* by the *Goths* under *Alaricus*, did, saith St. *Austin* in the Argument of his Book of *the City of God*, charge the calamity on the Christian Religion, and blaspheme the true God with bitterer words than it was their custome to use. And this (as he declareth) stirred up his zeal, and moved him for the stopping of their ungodly mouths, and refuting their Errors, to write that Book. For the *Goths* themselves, the general body of them was barbarously Idolatrous, (though some of that people had received betimes the Christian Faith; for *Theophilus* a *Gothick* Bishop was at the Council of *Nice*) and the *Vandals* were wholly Pagans. Neither were there under Heaven a people more zealously devoted to Dæmons than the *Scythians*, *Getes*, or *Goths* (*b*). Of the *Thracian Getes*, *Pausanias* saith in his *Bæoticks*, that they were a more acute Nation than the *Macedonians*, and (*c*) by

a See *Lud. Viv. Præf. in Com. suos. de Getis seu Gothis.* p. 27, 28.

b See *Adam Bremensis de de superstit. Sueon.* among the *Elogia* of *Grotius* before Hist. *Goth.* p. 104.

c —— καὶ οὐκ ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ θεῖα ὀλίγωρον.

no means ſo negligent in the worſhip of their gods. *Schedius* in his Diſſertations concerning the *German*-gods, hath remembred very many *Gothick* Deities; and there is a Learned man of our own Nation (*a*), who tells us that he hath not numbred the half of them. Of *Herald* the firſt King of *Norway*, it is reported by *Crantzius* (*b*), that he offered two of his own Sons unto his Dæmons, for the obtaining at Sea, ſuch a Tempeſt as might diſperſe that Armado of *Herald* the ſixth, King of *Denmark*, which was prepared againſt him; and that he obtained that for which he had bidden ſo dear and bloody a rate.

a *Dolliff. Sbtringh. de Angl. Gent. Orig. Diſcept.* p. 320.

b *Crantz. Not. Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 3.

After the further Converſion of thoſe Northern people none more corrupted their worſhip, than they with the obſervance of Tutelar Saints. In the Chronicle of *Swedeland*, the inferior Deities of that place exceed the number of the Villages; and I need no further inſtance than that which I find in *Felix Faber* (*c*) a Monk of *Ulma*. "A Town (ſaith he) nigh to *Ulma* "is *Seflingen*, in which is the Bleſſed Virgin preſiding "in the Garden of Virgins, and keeping on the Weſt "the Walls of that City. On the South is ſituate the "Village of *Wiblingen*, in which St. *Martin* armed "both with the Temporal and Spiritual Militia, is the "Patron of the Church, and the Guardian of the "*Ulmenſes*. Nigh alſo is *Schwekhofen*, an ancient Town, "where at this day ſtandeth a Church in which S. *John* "the Evangeliſt watcheth over *Ulma*. On the Eaſt is "the Village *Pfal*, where ſtandeth the *Mauſoleum* of "the Bleſſed Virgin in the publick ſtreet. There ſhe "demonſtrates by certain Miracles, that ſhe dwells in "that place. Thence ſhe looks upon *Ulma* with the "eyes of mercy, and defends it. In that Village S. *Udal*-"*ricus* is Patron of the Church; an excellent Guar-"dian of the Citizens who implore his Aid. On the "North,

c *Fel. Fab. Hiſt. Suev.* l. 2. c. 17. p. 315.

"North, on the Royal Mountain of *Elchingen* is placed a lofty Throne of the Blessed Virgin, to the "terror of all that have evil will at *Ulma*. He further mentions St. *George*, St. *Leonard*, all Saints with "the Virgin in the midst of them, St. *James*, and St. "*Michael*, as Patrons and defendants of that place. "And for St. *Michael*, he is placed on a Mountain on "the West-side, as a Watchman looking over the whole "City, and in Armour as the Protector of it.

Now the Northern Barbarians being so inclined to the worship of Tutelar Dæmons, it is no wonder if many Christian-*Romans*, to mollifie their savageness, and to induce them to Christianity, so far complied as to offer them Tutelar Saints and holy Angels instead of their evil Guardian Spirits. This, I suppose, they did, because I find the Concurrence of their Invasion and stay in *Italy*, and of the rise and growth of Dæmon-worship there, both happening in the fourth and fifth Centuries. And it may not be unworthy the Observation of the Reader, that in the fifth Century, St. *Michael* the Archangel, a most eminent Patron (as we just now heard from *Felix Faber*) among the Northern Christians, was first Commemorated in the Western Church, by a solemn Feast (*a*). I would here further note, that *Woden* (not the *Mercury*, but the *Mars* of the Northern Idolaters) was in highest esteem among them: That *Michael* answereth to him, being, as the *Roman* Litanies (*b*) stile him, the Prince of the Heavenly Host: That this Feast of St. *Michael* was then instituted when Peace was desired betwixt *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, (who came first from *Scandinivia*, and were called afterwards *Lombards*); and *Theodorick* the first King of the *Goths* in *Italy*.

a *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 6. A. C. 493. Sect. 43, 44. p. 537.

b *Lit. de Sanct. Ang. ap. Hospit. Paradis. An.* Sect. 2. p. 96: *S. Michael Princeps cælestis exercitus.*

Having thus aimed at the resolution of the first Inquiry, the occasion of Dæmon-worship in the Church;

I pro-

I proceed to ſhew in the ſecond place, That this worſhip derogateth from the Honour of God as Governour of the World by his immediate ſelf, though alſo by a Subſtitute; for he is likewiſe the ſame Eſſential God.

It is both by the *Romaniſts* and the Reformed acknowledged, that God is the Governour of the World; *That in him we live, and move, and have our being:* That he giveth us life, and breath, and all things: That to him all glory is to be referred. Neither hath he anywhere declared that he hath divided the Regiment of the World into ſeveral Lieutenancies of Angels or Saints. He hath no-where ſhewed us, that he hath given to this Angel, and that Saint (not to a Saint eſpecially) a Commiſſion to rule in ſuch a Precinct; or a Patent to practice as a Supernatural Phyſician, in ſuch a City or Town, or any-where, in the cure of ſuch a diſeaſe; or Orders to aſſiſt at this Maſs, and that Confeſſion. If therefore ſuch effects of Protection, Health and aſſiſtance follow, and are believed (*a*) to come from this or the other Saint, though as ſubordinate to God the ſupreme Governour, and infinite Phyſician; yet a degree of Truſt is put in them (*b*) as Plenipotentiaries or Subſtitutes of the King of the World; and a degree of thanks is given to them as to ſuch Delegates. And God ſeemeth robbed of the honour of diſpenſing particular favours, though the general *Grant* be derived from him. Whereas it may be in many caſes God himſelf hath done all without ſo much as the Miniſtry of an Angel, much leſs of a Saint; and conſequently ought to have received the whole honour, of which good part being (though by miſtake, a miſtake ſoon rectified by them who examine things) aſcribed to the Creature, is therefore in that degree Idolatrous. A good part is in theſe caſes generally aſcribed to Saints; and

a *Bccan. Compend. Man. Controv.* l. 1. c 7. *de Invoc. Sanct.* p. 290. *Quotidiè fructum inde experimur, nam multi, invocatione hujus vel illius Sancti, conſequuntur, ſanitatem corporis, alii donum caſtitatis,* &c.

b *Caniſ. Man. Cathol.* p. 258. *ad Beat. Mich. Archang. Precatio. Cœleſtis Militiæ Princeps——veni in adjutorium populo Dei, & militantis Eccleſiæ contra Impios procura victoriam, noſq; ſimul adverſus Diabolicos inſultus in vitâ & morte Patrocinio tuo defende & ſublleva.*

and it is well if ſome look up any higher at the time of their deliverance. We ſee, in the adminiſtration of political affairs, that Subjects, though owning, notionally, the ſupremacy of their Prince, yet go, often, no further, in their truſt, or thanks, than to thoſe men, who by their Place, and Office, and deputed Authority, can, very effectually, diſpatch their affairs without higher Application. And he that is protected as a ſervant to a Senator, pays all his acknowledgment to his Maſter who received him, kindly, into his ſervice; and not to the King who is but the more remote, though the ſupreme Author of this privileg. And it is plain, from *Romiſh* Hiſtory it ſelf, that the pay goes to that Saint who is believed in Commiſſion, whilſt God is, by ſupine inadvertence, ſcarce remembred. So the *Liber Feſtivalis* (*b*) tells us, That when S. *Gilbert* was afflicted with a ſoar Throat, "The "Virgin took her, *feyre pappe*, and milked on his "Throat, and went her way, and anon therewith he "was hole, and *thanked our Lady ever after.* I will clear my meaning a little further by propoſing more inſtances, of which the firſt ſhall be made in the Annaliſt *Baronius*, and applied unto the preſent occaſion. This laborious Writer is looked upon as the very Champion of the Papacy. His Twelve Tomes of Eccleſiaſtical ſtory are reputed ſo many Pillars of the *Roman* Cauſe. That Great man in the Papacy, *Sixtus Quintus*, gave great encouragement to the Author and his work. The Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* in *Poland*, as likewiſe other great and zealous men, who were Bygots for the Papacy, thought it fit to be tranſlated into all languages; and ſet on foot a *Polonian*, *Italian*, and *German* Verſion. If he ſpeaks not like a true *Roman Catholick*, from whom ſhall we hear the words of a ſon of that Church? Hear him, then, at the end of his

b *Lib. Feſt. in die Annunc. B. M. p.* 234.

his ſeveral Tomes, and you will find him, owning indeed the ſupremacy of God, for that was an Article of his Faith: But withal you will find him zealouſly aſſerting a delegation of conſiderable power to the Bleſſed Virgin; as alſo making very thankful remembrances of her favours, in the guidance and ſucceſs of his Pen. And theſe remembrances are in ſuch manner expreſſed, that if, by them, nothing is meant of Aſſiſtance from the Virgin, beſides the help of her prayers for him, I muſt ſearch out ſome new *Dictionary* for the Interpretation of his *Latin*.

At the end of the firſt Tome of thoſe his Annals, he doth, as it were, hang up a Table, in acknowledgment of thoſe powers who had conducted him through that vaſt Sea, (as he rhetorically calls it) of the matters of the firſt Age. "His Doxology (*a*) is offered to the "Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and likewiſe "to the moſt holy Virgin, under the Title of the Con- "ciliatrix of the Deity. For to her (ſaith he) as "we refer all theſe our works, they being received "from her; ſo likewiſe to her we offer them: *That* "*the ſame* (*b*) *Virgin* may offer them, how mean ſoever, "to her beloved Son; *That ſhe* may ſanctifie them with "the vouchſafe of her bleſſing, and obtain that favour "for the oblation; *that he* may be to us a portion in "the Land of the living. And over the words of this Addreſs ſhe is pictured Crowned, and with her Son, as an Infant, in her Arms, and with a Retinue not only of Angels in General, but of Cherubims, the Attendants on Gods throne.

a *Baron. Annal. Tom.* 1. p. 817. *Ed.* Colon.

b——*ut* ipſa *Eadem, qualiscunq; ſint, dilecto filio ſuo porrigat, ut impartitâ benedictione ſanctificet, illamq; pro munere gratiam poſcat; ut* Ipſe *ſit nobis portio in Terrâ viventium.*

For his Second Tome, this is a part of the Concluſion of it. "Here then (*c*) let our Diſcourſe, wea- "ried with a longer journey, opportunely repoſe it "ſelf: And, being mindful of the benefit, let it thank- "fully caſt it ſelf (as is our cuſtom) at the feet of "the

c *Bar. Annal.* Tom. 2. p. 863.

" the moſt holy *Mary* the Mother of God: That it " may offer to her, *from whom it acknowledgeth the* " *whole to be received*, whatſoever it underſtandeth it " hath obtained of God by her Prayers. And let it " caſt into her as into a moſt holy and living Treaſury, " after the manner of the Widow, two mites, collected " in poverty, with great labour; the two Tomes, I " mean, of the Annals now finiſhed. Let that very Virgin " be to us the moſt ſafe Ark in which our labours may " be kept, and in ſafe cuſtody protected; leſt a thief " breaking thorough (to wit, the appetite of vain-" glory), ſteal them away; or the moth and ruſt " adhering to them (to wit, vain and fallacious hopes) " corrupt them, or eat through them. For ſhe is the " true and divine Ark made of *Shittim*-wood, which " preſerveth from corruption, thoſe things which are " committed to her care.——

In his third Tome this is his Peroration: " Seeing " now (*a*) (as ſaith *Eccleſiaſtes*) Rivers return to the " place whence they came, that they may flow again; it " is plainly fit that to that Fountain, whence all our la-" bours have flowed, they be recalled as to their pro-" per Original, and by reciprocal flux be thither re-" funded; that thence they may be poured forth up-" on us in greater plenty. To her therefore by whom " the whole of this gift comes to us from God; to " the moſt holy Virgin (I ſay) *Mary* the Mother of " God, we offer very humbly this third Tome of An-" nals, as we have already done thoſe other which we " have publiſhed.

a *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 3. p. 894.

His Peroration in his fourth Tome, thus beginneth: " Now (*b*) by your Aid (Virgin *Mary*, Mother of " God) pay we down the fourth part of our Task; " and to you we pay it, from whence we received it. " For you have found it Wool and Flax, and wrought

b *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 4. p. 787.

" it with the counſel of your hands. Wherefore, for " the reſt of the work, perform it your ſelf; and " weave thoſe threds, whatſoever they be (and in your " hand undoubtedly they will be golden) into thoſe " Sacerdotal garments, of which *David* thus ſpeaketh: " *Let thy Prieſts be clothed with righteouſneſs.*——*I will* " *deck her Prieſts with ſalvation.* I beſeech thee make " for us thoſe two Garments; for thoſe of thy Family " are ſaid to be doubly clothed.

The fifth Tome hath a like concluſion, to this ſenſe.

a *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 5. p. 771. " This (*a*) fifth iſſue, Mother of God, received from " your favour, conceived by your Prayers, I [here] " bring for a thankful acknowledgment, as *Anna* did " *Samuel* to you the living Tabernacle of God.——

The ſixth Tome endeth thus: "We are now in the

b *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 6 p. 772. " Haven (*b*) in which men ſail not. We contract our " ſails, and we faſten our Cable to a ſolid Rock; in- " tending in due time to ſet ſail again. Now then what " remaineth but that we betake our ſelves by humble " ſupplication, to that Temple of God which is always " open, the very Mother of God; giving thanks to " God by her, and paying our vows for the victory " we have obtained over the waves that oppoſed us. " And as Mariners are wont to offer their Oar; ſo let " us offer to her our Pen, that it may obtain that " rich benediction from her, by which (after the man- " ner of the rod of *Aaron* which devoured the rods of " the Magicians) it may reſiſt all the endeavours of " gain-ſayers, and like to that, flouriſh; whilſt the " other rods, brought by rebellious Controvertiſts, " wither away: Laſtly, That like that in the Taber- " nacle of the Covenant, it may be perpetually pre- " ſerved in the Church, as a witneſs of the truth of " God. Theſe very ample bleſſings beſtowed on the " Rod, we ask of thee (O Virgin) coming to thee

(*c*) with

" (*a*) with great affiance; for thou performing theſe " things, crowneſt no other than thine own gifts.

The ſeventh Tome endeth on this faſhion.

" Go to now (*b*), let us give thanks to God, as we " are wont, for the finiſhing of this ſeventh Tome of " Annals; and let us offer the work in like manner to " *Mary* the Mother of God; that by whoſe help it " was begun and perfected, by the merits of the ſame " it may be rendred ſpotleſs, worthy the Divine aſpect; " it being juſtly refuſable in reſpect of the imperfecti- " on of the Author that offers it. [Having ſaid this, and added a complaint of his troubles and interruptions in the writing of this Volume, which he calleth his *Benoni*; he thus proceeds.] " One thing more on- " ly I have to ask; that ſeeing theſe very unquiet, ſad, " lamentable, fearful and dangerous things have hap- " pened to me, O Mother of God, not without (*c*) " your Providence; you your ſelf would daily bring help " to me, journeying in a ſlippery path, expoſed to " great danger, and every moment in hazard of lo- " ſing eternal ſalvation; and give protection to an un- " ſetled man.——

In the Concluſion of the Eighth Tome, he giveth thanks to ſome Martyrs, together with the Virgin (*d*); offering to them all his Tomes in gratitude, and which was much more, his very ſelf.

Of the ninth he ſaith (*e*), That he brought it to an end by the favour of God, and the aid of the Virgin who helped him by her Prayers.

In the end of the Tenth (*f*), he prayeth to God for " eternal happineſs by the Intervention of the Mother " of God with the Father for him; further beſeeching " him that ſhe which always helped him in his work, " might be the Conciliatrix of eternal reward in the " glory of the bleſſed.

a *Magnâ fiduciâ accedentes* [for *accedentes*, ſure by miſtake of the Preſs.]

b *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 7. p. 812.

c *Non niſi te curante.*

d *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 8. p. 753, 754. *Jure ergò nos iisdem, quos nacti ſumus Ducem & Comites, omnia iſta pro gratiarum actione rependimus, imperdimuſq; nos ipſos ſimul.*

e *Baron. Annal.* Tom. 9. p. 935,

f *Id.* Tom. 10. p. 964.

In the end of the Eleventh Tome (*a*), he acknowledgeth that the entireneſs of his net, after his having caſt it ſo often, that the continuance of his ſtrength freſh and green in his old age; that all this was from the grace of *Abiſag*, their *Shunamite*, cheriſhing his aged bones; to wit the moſt holy and pure Virgin, favouring the work begun and taking care of, and happily promoting all his affairs.——

[a] *Id.* Tom. 11. p. 758.

Laſt of all he endeth in a like note, but a little lower and ſweeter than that with which he begun and continued his Perorations; for he concludeth his whole work of Twelve Tomes (*b*) with an humble ſupplication to the Bleſſed Virgin: and therein he beſeecheth, That by her means he might be made worthy to obtain that benediction from the Father of Lights by which he might be partaker of an eternal inheritance through the Grace and Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt.

[b] *Id.* Tom. 12. p. 916.

The whole of this which I have cited, and cited at ſuch length, by reaſon of that credit which this Author hath obtained under the Papacy; the whole, I ſay, of it, both beginning, middle, and end, repreſenteth the Virgin as a Patroneſs; and as one who had prevailed with God to commit to her care *Baronius* and his Labours, as her eſpecial Province. He owneth God and Chriſt as the Fountains of Grace; but he ſuppoſeth her the Conduit, conveying them to himſelf. On her he truſteth; to her he offereth ſolemn, and repeated thanks. And though he often mentioneth her Prayers for him; yet it appeareth by the tenor of his other expreſſions, and of the common *Roman* Doctrine, that he meaneth not barely them; but the Guardianſhip which by them ſhe had from the beginning obtained of God in behalf of the Annaliſt.

If then according to his own belief he was divinely aſſiſted in this great work, theſe Twelve Labours of

the *Roman Hercules* (which others, conſidering the partiality of the Author, believe to have been undergone more by the aids of the Court of *Rome*, than thoſe of Heaven); if, I ſay, he was aſſiſted from above (which is his own perſuaſion); and God, who is wont to dictate to Chriſtians, rather by his Spirit, than by his Angels, much leſs by his Saints, did give him immediately the underſtanding, memory, ſtrength, and other abilities by which he wrote; has he not then ſacrilegiouſly kept back a very great part of that Honour which was wholly due to God, and ought to have been devoted to Him, and then paid it in wrongful and idolatrous manner unto the bleſſed Virgin?

Now what think you was the occaſion of this exceſs of *Marian*-zeal? Why, the Mother of *Cæſar Baronius* (as they tell us *) going when big of him, to the Temple of the Virgin, felt the Babe, like a ſecond *John the Baptiſt*, leap in her womb. As ſoon as he was born, ſhe offer'd him to the Patronage of the ſame Bleſſed Virgin. When he was two years old, and afflicted with a very dangerous Diſeaſe, ſhe pray'd to her three days, and then received him reſtor'd from the very article of death, together with a voice ſaying to her, *Be of good comfort, your ſon ſhall not dye. Baronius* mindful of this benefit, always honour'd the Virgin with ſingular obſervance; and he marked his Books, his Tables, his Images, every thing with a device, which ſignifies *Cæſar ſervus Mariæ?* And at his death (which it ſeems was on *Saturday*, our Ladys weekly day) he expreſſed much devotion towards her; and in his laſt agony kiſs'd her Image with the greateſt piety of mind.

* *Aug. Wichmans in Sab. Marian. C. 6. p. 62.*

The Devotion of *Lipſius* is ſo like to that of the Cardinal *Baronius*, that I may not improperly here ſubjoin it.

In

In the first chapter (a) of his *Virgo Hallensis*, he calleth Blessed *Mary* the tutelar goddess of *Halla*; that is, of *Halle* in *Heinalt*, seated on the *Seine*; and he profes- "seth, that from his youth he had devoted himself to "her Worship, and chosen her as his Patroness and "Guide in all the dangers and molestations of his "whole life.

(a) *Lips. Virg. Hallens.* c. 1. p. 1243. *Op. Ed. in* 8vo. *vesal. A.* 1675.

In his second chapter (b) he maketh to his Patroness this supplication: *Grant to me, O my Goddess, whom I contemplate as present in my mind, That what I have piously design'd, I may happily accomplish.*

(b) *Id. ibid.* p. 1245.

In his sixth chapter (c) he mentions a miraculous victory obtain'd by that City over her enemies, who had with powerful arms entred into her. And this deliverance he supposeth to be wrought by the Patronage of the Virgin, who was invok'd. And he accordingly taketh notice of the Praises of Heart and Voice (d), which every preserved Citizen did offer to that Goddess.

(c) *Id. ibid.* p. 1254, 1255.

(d) *Quis non tum laudes gratesq; sacræ Virgine Corde, Ore, plausu, dixit?*

In his eleventh chapter (e) he telleth how a man possessed with the Devil, was, by this Tutelar Deity (as he there calls her), delivered from so wicked and dangerous an Inhabitant. And after having told his story, he falleth to his Prayers in this manner: *O powerful, O merciful Goddess! defend us also from this subtil Serpent. And thou, who didst once bruise his head in thy Conception, assist us so effectually, that his tail may neither scourge us, nor throw us on the ground.*

(e) *Id. ibid. p.* 1260.

Then, after having ended his Legend consisting of divers Miracles wrought at her shrine, he falls again to his Prayers in his thirty-sixth or last Chapter; and this is the form of his Address (a).

(a) *Lips. Op.* p. 1288.

O Goddess! thou art the Queen of Heaven, of the Sea, of the Earth, above whom there is nothing but God. Thou Moon (next to him the Sun) whom I implore and

invocate; Protect and take care of us both in publick and private. Thou haſt ſeen us theſe forty years toſſed in a publick ſtorm: O Mary! *calm this tumultuous Sea---*

He concludeth with a Poetical Conſecration of a ſilver-Pen (*b*) to her, who had (as he believ'd) been the author and finiſher of his ſtudies.

(b) —— *Hanc Pennam tibi Nunc, Diva, merito, conſecravit Lipſius. Nam Numini Iſthæc inchoata ſunt Tuo, Et numini Iſthæc abſoluta ſunt Tuo.*

Now then, ſuch kind of Worſhippers do in part revive one degree of the Idolatry of the Gentiles, who divided Places, Perſons, Things, Actions, ſubject to the Supreme God, amongſt Sempiternal or Canoniz'd Spirits. The chief Architect of the *Egyptian Pharos*, put upon his Workmanſhip this Inſcription, *Soſtratus of Gnidos, the Son of Dexiphanes, to the Gods Protectors for the ſafeguard of* Sailers. What, now, is the difference betwixt this Inſcription and one made by a Papiſt in honour of S. *Nicholas*, upon the little Church nigh the *Wurbel* in the *Danube?* None ſure, unleſs it be this, that the firſt is in veneration of a Chriſtian Saint, the other of good *Genii:* For we are told by thoſe whoſe credit is as unqueſtionable as their Learning (*c*), and who have been upon the place, that the Church is dedicated to S. *Nicholas*, "That he is the "ſuppoſed Patron of that dangerous Whirlpool in that "River; that he is believ'd to take peculiar care of "ſuch as paſs that way; and that a little Boat comes "to you as ſoon as you are out of danger, and receives "what acknowledgment you pleaſe, or what perhaps "you may have promiſed to give when you were in "ſome fear. It may be God alone calmeth thoſe waves, at leaſt without a Saint; and S. *Nicholas* receiveth much of the acknowledgment; the whole, poſſibly, from the common men of the Veſſel, whom danger teacheth to pray, whilſt ſuperſtitious ignorance miſleadeth them from praying aright.

(c) D.B. in his ſecond Vol. of Travels, p. 69.

Martinus de Roa, though a learned Jeſuit, and a *Spa-*

Spaniard, does openly declare the nature of this *Romiſh* practice; he does not ſeek to give a falſe colour to it, but he ſhews it as a Practice which plainly agreeeth with the worſhip of the Gentiles. "He ſpeaketh "our, ſaying (*a*) that it is a Rite amongſt them to call "upon the tutelar Deity of the Nation (as upon "St. *James* in *Spain*,) at the beginning of their Battels. And this cuſtom he parrallels with that of the *Macedonians* in *Juſtin*, who in their battels called ſometimes upon *Alexander*, and ſometimes upon *Philip*, as upon Gods; invoking their aid for the ſucceſs of their Armes. And then he ſubjoyneth the practice of the *Germans*, who (as *Tacitus* reporteth) joyned not in fight with their enemies, 'till they had ſolemnly prayed to *Hercules*.

(a) *Martin. de Roa de Dit Natali Sacro & Prof. p. 11.... acclamato Tutelari aliquo Gentis Divo, ut B. Jacobo apud Hiſpanos, prælia committuntur*, &c.

This kind of worſhip the Pope continueth to encourage, by ſetting up new Saints, as Tutelar Spirits, in his Canonizations of them. Thus for inſtance ſake, Pope *Clement* the Tenth confirmed the decree of Pope *Clement* the ninth, in which St. *Roſa* is created Patroneſs of the City *Lima* (*b*), the chief Town and the Archiepiſcopal ſeat in *Peru*; and principal Protectreſs of the ſame Kingdom of *Peru*, and of all the Provinces and Kingdoms of the *Terra firma* of all the *Peruvian America*, and of the *Philippine* Iſlands. And this it ſeems was done to this end (*c*), that an addition might be made to the veneration of that Saint: "and that through her interceſſion the People of thoſe "parts might the more ſtrongly hope for Patronage or Protection. So S. *Thomas de Villanova* is canonized by *Alexander* the ſeventh (*d*), who whilſt he regiſtreth him in the Calendar of his gods, uſeth this Exhortation: "Wherefore let us go with boldneſs to the throne "of the Divine mercy, praying with heart and voice, "that S. *Thomas* may preſide over Chriſtian people by his

(b) *Bullar. de Can. B. Roſæ.* p. 499, &c.

(c) *Bullar. ib. ut venerationis fiat acceſſio*, &c.

(d) *Bullar. de Can. S. Thomæ de villanovâ*, p. 278.

" his Merit and Example; that he may aſſiſt them with " his Prayers and Patronage; and that in the time of " wrath he may become their Reconciliation.

Such Deities the Papacy ſetteth up; and nothing is more common than for the people of that Church to fall down and worſhip them in that quality. Neither can Travellers ſhun ſuch Statues and Inſcriptions, as give them advertiſement of this worſhip of Tutelar Saints. Such an Inſcription is that at *Bruſſels* betwixt the Quire and the Sacriſty of the Cathedral (*e*): The Monument is dedicated by *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and Archbiſhop and Elector of *Colen*, to the immaculate Virgin, and to S. *Lambert*, as to the Tutelar Deities of that Church and Countrey. S. *Michael* alſo is the ſpecial Protector of that City, and upon the top of its Townhouſe ſtands his Statue in braſs. Who can go into *Leutini*, and not have notice of the three *French* Brethren and Martyrs, *Alſio*, *Philadelfo*, and *Cirino*, venerated there as its Patrons and Guardians (*f*)? Who travelleth to *Utopolis* or S. *Veit*, and ſeeth not the four Chappels on the four Hills of S. *Veit*, S. *Ulrick*, S. *Laurence*, S. *Helena*? or heareth not of St. *Veit*, or St. *Faith*, as of one that cureth the Dancing-ſickneſs known by the name of *Chorea ſancti viti*? Who entreth *Paris* and heareth not St. *Geneviefve* celebrated as the Protectreſs of it? And is not ſhe called the Guardian of *France*, and the North-ſtar (*a*) of her Imperial City? Who underſtandeth the ancient eſtate of *England*, and is ignorant of the Veneration which it hath had for its preſumed Patron St. *George*? So great it was, that when certain Holy-days were abrogated in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, the Feaſt of St. *George* (*b*) was excepted, as well as thoſe of the Apoſtles and our Lady. Who croſſeth the Ocean, and viſiteth the *Mexican America*, and obſerveth not that

c D. Br. Trav. 2. part. p. 169. D. O. M. *Intemeratæ Virgini Mariæ, Sancto Lamberto, Eccleſiæ & Patriæ Divis Tutelaribus, Maxe Henr. &c. poſuêbat. A.* 1658.

f See *Peter della Valle's* Travel. p. 307.

a See *Garnirim's Hymne de Sainte Geneviefve Patrone de Paris. Par. A.* 1603. and before it, by *Morrell.* theſe Verſes.

Tu flos ſiderei chori,——
Francorum Imperii pii
Regum tibi cura aſſidua,
& Francis populi probi.

And in it theſe p. 2.

——Etoile ſinguliere
Sous qui la Nef
de la ville premiere
Vogue ſans craiate.——

b *Ann.* 1536. See Biſhop Sparrow's Collect. p. 225, 226.

St. *Joseph* is made the Patron of new *Spain*? The Synod of *Mexico* confirmed at *Rome*, hath declared him to be such (*c*), and given particular order for the celebration of his Holy-day.

I am not able to recount to how many places, persons and things the Protection of the holy Virgin is said to extend *. The fancy of the eloquent Jesuit *Ratisbonne* hath made her (*d*) to preside over Clouds and Tempests (*e*), over Tillage and Pasturage (*f*), over Flocks and Herds. To her as Queen of Heaven, the Author of the Monument of *Galeacius Caracciolus* (*g*), dedicateth it in the quality of a Marble-Chappel, in thankful acknowledgment, of the many favours she conferred on that Marquis, and of the many evils from which she secured him. At *Rome* in the Church *Mariæ S. Angeli*, the Inscription seemeth to install the Virgin into that Presidency over it, which before was held by some god of the Gentiles (*h*). A like change is insinuated in the Inscription found in the *Ædes Martis*, turned into the Temple of St. *Martina* (*i*). Now what seemeth all this but refined Heathenism? When men trust in St. *Hubert* as the Patron of Hunters; do not they the like to those who trusted in *Diana* the Goddess of that Game, and the Patroness of Forests? upon which account she was of old the celebrated Deity of this Island, which then was a kind of continued Wood (*k*). When they apply themselves in a storm to the Virgin *Mary*; do not they the like to those who in perils by water called on *Venus* (*l*)? When they put confidence in St. *Margaret*, or the Virgin *Mary* (*m*) as

c Syn. Mexic. Stat. par. 1. c. 14. p. 1354.

* Aug. Wich. in Epist. ad omnes Marianos Cultores.—— Urbs Antverpia, cui tu præsides, ut sacra Marchionissa, seu medio Regina foro——

d Res. Rap. Eccl. Sacr. in Virg. Assump. Eclo. 13. p. 41, 42, 43. Ed. Lug. Bat. An. 1672.

e Postquam illam cœli Tempestatumque potentem esse dedit.——

f—Virgo—Respice nos facilis.—— Interea largo proventu plenior Annus Contingat, veniatq; suo seges ampla colono. Da Glebâ Agricolis fœlices uberre campos. Pascua da Gregibus, pinguis da matribus Agnos. Et qua tuta dabas Pastoribus otia, serva.

g Chytr. Monumenta Neopol. p. 50. Tibi Regina Cœli, &c.

h Chytr. Mon. Roman. p. 20. Quod fuit Idolum, nunc Templum est Virginis, Auctor est Pius ipse patet: Dæmones aufugite. i Id. ibid. p. 22. Martyrii, Virgo, gestans, Martina, Coronam; Ejecto hinc Martis nomine, Templa tenet.

k Gildas Poëta Brit. ap. Pont. Virunnium. l. 1. c. 1. p. 1. Diva potens nemorum terror sylvestribus Apris,—&c. l Grot. ad Johan. Rutgersh. ex vitro navigantem. Epigram. l. 2. p. 301.—At Pelago Venus orta, metu desistite, dixit, non erit in nostris tam grave crimen aquis.——m See J. H. Manual. Prayers in Travel. p. 519, 520.

th

the Patronesses of Women in Travail, and Children in Infancy, do they not follow their pattern who relied on *Diana* (*n*), *Statina* * or *Cunina* (*o*) in such cases? When they pay their Vows to the Virgin for the safety of their Children, do they not like *Bassa* or *Sulpitia* in the Inscriptions of *Gruter* (*p*), who paid theirs in the same case to *Lucina* or *Juno*; and to *Castor* and *Pollux* (*q*)? And is there so vast a difference betwixt the devotion of a Heathen Conquerour who offered his Sword to *Mars*; and of *Henry* of *Valois*, who obtaining a great Victory over the Rebels in *Flanders*, consecrated to the Virgin the Horse on which he charged, and the Arms with which he so successfully fought? On both sides here is confidence in a Cœlestial creature as a substitute of the supreme God, and thanks most solemnly paid to it. Only for the Objects, the one sort of them is Christian, the other Pagan; but both kinds were reputed Divine, and worthy, by their Adorers; both were judged Cœlestial Magistrates (*a*) and Senators (*b*), as the Saints are called by *Horstius*, and the Catechism of *Trent*. And by the Intercession of such Senators, is often meant in the Church of *Rome*, their prevalence with God in executing the office of their Patronage. Hence they sometimes pray to God (*c*), "That the glorious Intercession of the ever-blessed and glorious Virgin *Mary* may protect them, and "bring them to life everlasting.

The particular Instances of the *Romish* Patrons and Patronesses are too many to be here Historically spoken of. I find enough of them together in the learned Homily against the peril of Idolatry, and with them I will at present content my self. "What, I pray you, "saith that Homily (*d*), be such Saints with us to

n Hence they called her Λοχεία, *quasi partus Arbitra*.

* See *T. Bartholin. de Puerperio vet.* p. 72.

o See *Pignor. de Servis.* p. 380, 381.

p *Grut. Inscr.* p. 24.

q *Id. ib.* p. 98. *Cast. & Poll. Diis Magnis Sulpitia*, &c. *ob fil. saluti restitutum.*

a *Catech. ex Decr. Conc. Trid.* p. 389: *Quòd si Reges, per quos Deus mundum gubernat, tanto honore afficiuntur: Angelicis spiritibus, quos Deus ministros suos esse voluit*, &c.

b *Hor. Par. An.* Sect. 2. *Hymn: Commun. in Festo cujuscunque Sancti.* p. 118, 119. *Gaude Felix N—— Inter Cœli Senatores jam locatus, fac exores Christum mundi Judicem: ut quam sontes, heu, timemus, Te Patrono declinemus, Iram Dei vindicem. Culpas* against Idol. *lava, carnem fræna*, &c.

c *J. H. Manual*, p. 386.

d Third part of the Hom. p. 46, 47, 48.

"whom we attribute the defence of certain Countries, "ſpoiling God of his due honour herein, but *Dii Tu-* "*telares* of the Gentile Idolaters? ſuch as were *Belus* "to the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians*; *Oſiris* and *Iſis* to "the *Egyptians*; *Vulcan* to the *Lemnians*; and to ſuch "other. What be ſuch Saints to whom the ſafe-guard "of ſuch Cities are appointed, but *Dii Præſides* with "the Gentiles Idolaters? ſuch as were at *Delphos*, *A-* "*pollo*; at *Athens*, *Minerva*; at *Carthage*, *Juno*; at "*Rome*, *Quirinus*, &c. What be ſuch Saints to whom, "contrary to the uſe of the Primitive Church, Tem- "ples and Churches be builded, and Altars erected; "but *Dii Patroni* of the Gentiles Idolaters? ſuch as "were in the Capitol, *Jupiter*; in *Paphus*-Temple, *Ve-* "*nus*; in *Epheſus*-Temple, *Diana*; and ſuch like.—— "When you hear of our Lady of *Walſingham*, our La- "dy of *Ipſwich*, our Lady of *Wilſdon*, and ſuch other; "what is it but an imitation of the Gentiles Idolaters; "*Diana Agrotera*, *Diana Coriphea*, *Diana Epheſia*, &c. "*Venus Cypria*, *Venus Paphia*, *Venus Gnidia*?——*Te-* "*rentius Varro* ſheweth that there were three hundred "*Jupiters* in his time. There were no fewer *Veneres* "and *Dianæ*. We had no fewer *Chriſtophers*, Ladies, "and *Mary Magdalens*, and other Saints.——They "have not only ſpoiled the true Living God of his "due Honour in Temples, Cities, Countries and Lands, "by ſuch devices and inventions as the Gentiles Idola- "ters have done before them; but the Sea and Wa- "ters have as well eſpecial Saints with them, as they "have had gods with the Gentiles; *Neptune*, *Triton*, "*Nereus*, *Caſtor and Pollux*, *Venus*, and ſuch other; "in whoſe places be come St. *Chriſtopher*, *Clement*, and "divers others, and ſpecially our Lady to whom Ship- "men ſing, *Ave Maris ſtella*. Neither hath the fire ſca- "ped the Idolatrous Inventions; for inſtead of *Vul-*

" *can* and *Vesta*, the Gentiles gods of the Fire, our " men have placed St. *Agatha*, and make Letters on her " day for to quench fire with. Every Artificer and Pro- " fession hath his special Saint, as a peculiar God. As " for example, Schollars have St. *Nicholas*, and St. *Gre-* " *gory*; Painters, St. *Luke*; neither lack Soldiers their " *Mars*, nor Lovers their *Venus*, amongst Christians. All " Diseases have their special Saints, as gods the curers " of them. The Pox St. *Roche*, the Falling-evil St. *Cor-* " *nelis*, the Toothach St. *Appolin*, *&c.* Neither do " beasts and cattel lack their gods with us; for St. *Loy* " is the Horseleach, St. *Anthony* the Swineherd, *&c.* " Where is Gods Providence and due Honour in the " mean season? Who saith, *The Heavens be mine, and* " *the Earth is mine, the whole World and all that in it* " *is. I do give victory, and I put to flight. Of me be all* " *counsels and help*, &c. *Except I keep the city, in vain* " *doth he watch that keepeth it. Thou Lord shalt save both* " *men and beasts.* But we have left him neither Heaven, " nor Earth, nor Water, nor Country, nor City, Peace " nor War, to rule and governn, either men nor beasts, " nor their diseases to cure.——We join to him ano- " ther helper, as [if] he were a Noun Adjective; using " these sayings: Such as *learn, God and S. Nicholas be* " *my speed.* Such as *neese, God help, and S.* John. To " the *Horse, God and S.* Loy *save thee*——

The *Papists* have read such Discourses as these; and they endeavour to abate the force of them by the following evasion: "The reasonableness of making ad- " dresses to one particular Saint (*a*) rather than ano- " ther in some particular occasions, will appear from the " consideration upon which it is usually done: And " that is not a division of Offices among the Saints, " every one of whom may equally intercede without " entrenching upon the propriety of another; and " their

(*a*) T. G. Cath. no Idol. *par.* 3. *ch.* 2. *p.* 364, 365, 366, 367, 368.

" their interceſſion may be implored by us in all kinds
" of neceſſities whatſoever: But it is grounded upon
" a reflexion which the Suppliant makes either upon
" ſome ſignal Grace which ſhined in that Saint above
" others, as Patience, Humility, Chaſtity, *&c.* (for
" which reaſon the Church ſaith of every one of them,
" *Non eſt inventus ſimilis Illi*, there was no other found
" like to him) or upon the particular manner of his
" ſuffering Martyrdom, or ſome particular Miracle,
" or ſuch like remarkable paſſage in his life and
" actions, which may ſerve to excite the hope of the
" Suppliant to obtain redreſs by means of his interceſ-
" ſion, in a caſe which he conceives to bear a ſutable-
" neſs and conformity to ſomething acted or ſuffered
" by him. Now the efficacy of Prayer being ground-
" ed on hope, and it being natural to us to hope for
" redreſs where others have found it, or where it may
" more reaſonably be expected, by reaſon of ſome par-
" ticular qualification we apprehend in the perſon to
" whom we addreſs; it is manifeſt, that as the aboveſaid
" reflexion ſerves to erect our hope, ſo alſo it conduceth
" to the end of Prayer, that is, the obtaining of what
" we pray for. Hence it is, that although all the Di-
" vine Attributes are really one and the ſame indiviſi-
" ble Perfection in God; yet for pardon we flye to his
" Mercy; for knowledg, to his Wiſdom; for prote-
" ction, to his Power, &c. And S. *Paul* aſſigns the re-
" miſſion of our ſins to the Paſſion of Chriſt; but
" our Juſtification (by which we riſe to newneſs of
" life) to his Reſurrection. *He was* (a) *delivered to*
" *death for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification.*
" The reaſon whereof he gives in the Epiſtle to the
" *Hebrews*, c. 2. v. 18, where he ſaith, *That it behoved*
" *Chriſt to be made like his brethren in all things, that he*
" *might be a merciful and faithful High-prieſt in things*
" *pertain-*

a *Rom.* 4. 25.

"*pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the ſins of*
"*the people: For*, ſaith he, *in that he ſuffered himſelf,*
"*being tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are temp-*
"*ted*: That is, by what he ſuffered himſelf, he is made
"prompt and ready to ſuccour thoſe who are in affli-
"ction and temptation. For it was true even of his
"moſt Sacred Humanity, what the Poet out of the
"very nature of humanity made another ſay, *Haud Ig-*
"*nara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco*; that by his own
"ſufferings he had learnt how to compaſſionate the
"ſufferings of others. And this was laid down by
"S. *Paul* as a powerful argument to perſwade the *He-*
"*brews* to put their hope in him for their reconcilia-
"tion with God, becauſe he was ſo particularly qua-
"lified and fitted for that work, by what he had ſuf-
"fered. Why then may not a like conſideration of the
"fitneſs or qualification of one Saint above others, as
"ſo conceived by us (either for his eminent perfecti-
"on in ſuch a particular virtue, or ſome other remark-
"able paſſage in his life), be taken as a motive to in-
"vite us to addreſs for the obtaining what we ſtand
"in need of, to his interceſſion before others? The
"Scripture, we know, to perſuade us to patience in
"adverſity, bids us (*b*) reflect upon the ſufferings of b *James* 5. 10.
"*Job*; and why may not his eminence in that virtue,
"as it ſerves for an example of our imitation, be alſo
"taken as a particular motive of our having recourſe
"to his interceſſion? And when *Jacob* bleſſed the
"two ſons of *Joſeph*, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, among
"ſo many Angels whoſe aſſiſtance he might have im-
"plored, he begs for that Angel in particular to be
"their Guardian, who had delivered him out of all
"his troubles (*a*). *The Angel* (ſaid he) *who delivered me* a *Gen.* 48. 16.
"*from all evils, bleſs theſe children*: And why, but be-
"cauſe he thought that he who had been ſo careful to

"deli-

"deliver him, would be as careful to deliver them? "And upon this account, were I in danger of being "ſhipwrackt, I ſhould ſooner flye to the Interceſſion "of S. *Paul*, who had ſaved by his prayers all his fel-"low-paſſengers in the ſhip from being drowned, than "to another who had never been in the like danger. "Behold here, then, the crime of Catholicks in calling "particularly upon the Angel *Raphael* when they tra-"vel, becauſe he protected young *Tobias* in his jour-"ney; upon S. *Roch* againſt the Plague, becauſe his "charity was ſignal in aſſiſting thoſe who were infect-"ed with it; upon S. *Nicholas* againſt Tempeſts, be-"cauſe he ſaved ſome by his prayers, who in a ſtorm "at Sea invoked him, while yet alive; upon S. *Apol-*"*lonia* for the Tooth-ach, becauſe all her teeth were "ſtruck out for her free confeſſion of Chriſt; and up-"on S. *Michael* and S. *George* againſt Enemies, becauſe "the latter was by profeſſion a Soldier, and a moſt va-"liant Martyr; and the former is recorded in Scrip-
b Dan. 10.21. and 12. 1. "ture (*b*) to be the Protector of the people of "God.

This excuſe hath much more of ingenuity in it,
c Alex. de Ha-les, ſumm. part. 4. quæſt. 26. memb 3. Art. 5. than that of *Alexander Hales* (*c*). "Becauſe (ſaid he) "we miſerable men, or ſome of us at leaſt, are more "affected ſometimes towards ſome certain Saint, than "towards our Lord himſelf; therefore God, having "compaſſion on our miſery, is pleaſed that we ſhould "pray unto his Saints.

As if God would indulge us in ſo unworthy and irreligious a paſſion.

The former excuſe (I ſay) is much more plauſible, yet it is invalid, and may be ſhewn to be ſo, by theſe following Conſiderations.

Firſt, It is acknowledged that Chriſts ſympathy is one motive of our truſt when we pray to him; but

it

it is the Divinity which he poſſeſſeth, and not the infirmity which he ſuffered, which inviteth us at this diſtance to call upon him.

Secondly, If there were as much ground to think that the Saints know our particular ſtates, as there is to believe their charity for the Church in general, it might not be improper to apply our ſelves to ſuch, whoſe former circumſtances do beſt befit our preſent ones.

Thirdly, Though the ſympathy of the Saint be a direction to him or her, how doth this direct Mariners to the Virgin *Mary* in a Tempeſt? She was never, that they are aſſured of, in peril by Sea; neither know they that ſhe ever croſſed a greater Water than that of *Jordan* or *Nilus*. If they take their ground from the derivation of the Name *Mary*, as ſignifying (ſaith (*a*) *Xaverius*) Ruler of the Sea; on what an uncertain foundation do they build? Nothing is more apt to deceive us, than fanciful Etymology. And for this word, *Xaverius* confeſſeth it may ſignifie *High*, or the bitterneſs of the Sea alſo. And *L. de Dieu* hath ſhewed, (*b*) that it may as well denote a drop of the Sea.

a *Xaver. Hiſt. Chriſti Perſ.* p. 18.

b *De Dieu in Animadverſ. in excerpta ex Hiſt. Chriſti.* p. 540.

If they anſwer with this Author, That not only the ſympathy of the Saint, but ſome miracle wrought after ſupplication, exciteth our hope, and encourageth to pray; That ſubterfuge ſhall be anon conſider'd. In the mean time I only put this ſhort queſtion, What was it that excited the firſt man that pray'd to ſuch a Saint? Not a miracle in anſwer of prayer; for the firſt prayer is ſure before its anſwer.

Fourthly, Though many Saints have a like ſympathy, and may by licenſe of the *Roman* Church be allowed to be prayed to apart or together *: though they do not ſhut theſe Cœleſtial Patrons out of one anothers Provinces, but ſuffer St. *James* to be prayed

* Yet herein *T. G.* contradicts *Gabriel Biel*, who ſaith in this matter, *Non omnia poſſumus omnes*; meaning that every Saint can't give that aid which ſome other can. *G. Biel in Can. Miſſæ, Lect.* 32. N.

to in *England*, and St. *George* in *Spain*; yet this doth not hinder the impiety of praying to any of them as ſubordinate rulers under God. They are ſtill Patrons, though ſome of them be a kind of joint-Patentees; and one or other of them has in all caſes ſuch power by commiſſion, that little motive is left for immediate application unto God; and much truſt and gratitude due to him is paid to theſe Delegates.

Fifthly, The Angel whoſe protection *Jacob* implored for the ſafeguard of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, as having had himſelf experience of his aid, was a Diviner Spirit than either *Michael* or *Gabriel*, even the *Logos* of God. This is the opinion of *Novatianus*, declared once and again in his (*a*) Book of the Trinity. This is the opinion of many of the Fathers, whoſe Teſtimonies ſhall be produced in my Fourteenth Chapter. At preſent it may ſuffice to bring forth that plain one of St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in his *Theſaurus* (*b*). "An Angel is ſaid to have ſtriven with the Patriarch *Jacob*, "and this Divine Writ teſtifies; but the holy man retaining him, ſaid, *I will not let thee go unleſs thou "bleſs me.* Now this Angel was God; which the "words of the Patriarch ſhew, whilſt he ſaith, *I have "ſeen God face to face.* Him (appearing to him as an "Angel) he deſireth to bleſs the Children.

And a while after he thus diſcourſeth.

"When *Eſau* his Brother deſigned againſt him, he "did not invoke an Angel, but God, ſaying, *Take me, "O Lord, out of the hands of my brother Eſau, for I "ſtand in fear of him.*

Sixthly, The ſtory of *Raphael* protecting *Tobias* is not found in Canonical Scripture. But if it be, notwithſtanding, a true report, this being a peculiar favour of God in an extraordinary caſe, it doth not encourage men in all emergencies to pray for the like, without

(*a*) *Novat. de Trin.* c. 27. p. 725. *ad Calc. op. Tertull.*

(*b*) *S. Cyril. Alex.* Tom. 5. par. 1. p. 116, 117.

without a promiſe from God. He ſendeth not all to be our guides, who may ſympathize with our eſtate. The Angels who never ſuſtain'd infirmity, do not ſo; neither doth the miniſtration of an Angel argue that of a Saint. Nor doth it follow that God doth uſe ſuch miniſtrations ſo frequently and viſibly under the Goſpel, as under the Law, in which diſpenſation his *Shechinah*, in which the Angels attended, was ſhewn often on Earth.

Seventhly, If St. *Roch* once aſſiſted the infected, it is not proved thence that God ſends him where-ever he ſends that heavy judgment. And how appeareth it that he ever helped at a diſtance in that dreadful ſickneſs, which requires a *Domine Miſerere?* Why, becauſe (ſay they) the infected prayed to him, and were healed. But the event is not always the effect; and God in purſuance of his own greater and myſterious ends, doth often anſwer the matter of the requeſts of the ſuperſtitious and the wicked. And often there are other ordinary ſecond Cauſes, which men fancy by the event to have been more extraordinary and divine. They who among the Heathens prayed to *Lavina* for her aſſiſtance in a cleanly cheat, might impute the effect unto their Goddeſs, though ſhe never underſtood them, and their own cunning brain and ſlight of hand brought the couzenage to paſs with ſuch undiſcovered Art. S. *Auſtin* will furniſh us with a better inſtance, a matter of fact. In his Eleventh Chapter *de Curâ pro mortuis*, he telleth of one *Eulogius* a Maſter of Rhetorick in *Carthage*, who was perplexed with a knotty place in the Rhetoricks of *Cicero*, which he was next day to interpret to his Scholars: "And in that night, ſaith the Father, I inter-"preted unto him in his dream, that which he under-"ſtood not. Nay, not I, but my Image, I being whol-"ly ignorant of this affair, and being ſo far beyond

"the Sea, doing or dreaming ſome other thing, and "being wholly careleſs of his cares. The mans brain was heated, and amongſt other Images that of S. *Auſtin* came in his mind, he being then the fam'd Schollar in *Africa*; and his dreams (as often it happens) were luckier than his waking thoughts; and he imputed to St. *Auſtin* that which followed his Apparition in the brain, though that was not the cauſe of it.

Eighthly, if St. *Michael* was once ſent to ſuccour the *Jews*, it is not to be thence concluded, that Saints do the like, or that he himſelf hath always the ſame Office, in reference to the quality or the object of it; or that Angels appear alike under the diſpenſation of the *Logos* ſubſtituted without union to manhood, and that of him incarnate, and inſtalled King of the World; nor do all the Learned think that by *Michael* is always meant an Angel.

In ſum, the *Romaniſts* are not ſo much charged with Idolatry, for praying to ſuch Saints as moſt ſympathize (in their conjecture) with their preſent conditions; as for truſting in them as ſuch whom God hath impower'd to ſuccour all Chriſtians in equal circumſtances and like places; and for returning the thanks to them which are oftenest due to the immediate Providence of the Omnipreſent God. If they do not apply themſelves to them as ſuch, why do they uſe ſuch Forms in their Prayers? Why do they give them the name of Patron, and Guardian-Saints? Why do they as well call on the Virgin, as on the higheſt Angel for Guardianſhip? Why do the Popes in their many Bulls declare them to be Patrons of ſuch places, and helpers in ſuch particular caſes? Why are the people directed in the choice of them, and adviſ'd to an eſpecial affiance in them (*a*)? Why is there mention in their Authors, of their appearance in perſon to their

a Horſt. Par. An. Sect. 5. p. 294. *Sanctos, maximè Patronos, invoca, &c.*

their Supplicants, with present aid, and further assistance? This is done by *Bernardin de Bustis*, and recited in a Manual Printed at *Paris* with approbation (*b*), in a Discourse of the seven Joys of the Virgin; to wit (in their account) her Annunciation by the Angel; her Visitation by *Elizabeth*; the glorious Birth of Christ; the Adoration of the *Magi*; the Retrieve of her Son in the Temple; the appearance of Christ after his Resurrection; and her happy departure and Assumption into Heaven. With these Joys, saith *Bernardin*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, a devout servant of the Virgins, did every day salute our Lady. To him (as he proceeds) she one day appeared when he was at his Prayers; and she assured him, that his saluting her with her seven Joys on earth [which sometimes were* said to be but five] was very agreeable to her; but that the saluting of her with her seven Joys in Heaven, [to wit, her Exaltation above the Angels; her illuminating Paradise as the Sun does the World; the reverence paid her by Angels, Archangels, Thrones and Dominions; her being the Conveyer of all the Graces which Christ bestoweth; her sitting at the right hand of her Son; her being the hope of sinners in such sort, that all who praise and reverence her, are by the Father recompenced with eternal Glory; the augmentation of her graces and favours in Paradice until the Day of Judgment] was acceptable to her in a higher degree. And she promised to him, and to others also who should daily repeat these Salutations, adjoining to each an *Ave Maria*, that she would be present with them at the hour of death; and that for her sake they should be saved. In which instance we have the Patronage of the Virgin asserted, and also a proof of the Imposture of such Appearances, from the Story it self, which representeth not a blessed Saint ascribing all

b *L'office de la vierge*, &c. *ou sont adjoutees——Allegresses de la vierge*, &c. *A Paris*, 1659. p. 340, 341, &c.

* *In lib. Festiviali. in Annunc. B. M.* p. 233.

all Glory to the great God, but a vain perſon delighted with the unjuſt flatteries of her ſelf.

This, then, is the way in which I conceive the Church of *Rome* giveth away a degree of the Honour of God the Father; to wit, by her diſpoſal of the Government of the World, though in ſubordination to his Supremacy, unto Angels and Saints, without any ſufficient declaration from him, that he hath been willing ſo to prefer them; and by her worſhipping of them in that quality which her own imagination hath enſtated them in.

I am next to conſider how the Church of *Rome* doth by ſuch eſtimation and worſhip, entrench on the Divine Honour with reſpect to Chriſt as Mediator. God hath not owned any Subſtitute beſides his Son, who hath all power given to him, being as God-man moſt capable of it. And though the Church of *Rome* doth acknowledg Chriſt to be the Author of Salvation, and the Supreme Patron and Mediator; yet ſtill it doth entrench upon his Honour, in its worſhip of Saints, three ſeveral ways.

Firſt, More particularly, in that Worſhip which is given to the Virgin.

In the ſecond place, More generally, in the worſhip given to ſo many Saints and Angels.

Thirdly, In the frequency of the worſhip given, both to the Virgin, and to the other Heavenly ſpirits.

Firſt, The Honour of Chriſt is particularly abated in the cuſtomary worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin. Abated, I ſay, not quite removed. For the Prayers to her are ſtill *per Dominum*, through Chriſt her Son [though it ſeemeth ſometimes to be intimated (as in the *Monſtra Te eſſe Matrem*, Shew thy Mother-hood, in the Hymn *Ave Maris ſtella*) that ſhe can command his Anſwers]. And when God is invoked by her Merits, her

* Merits

Merits are ſuppoſed to be derived from his (*a*). But an abatement there is of Chriſts Honour, by that ſupereminent Advancement which is given to her by the practice of that Church, without any declaration contrary to it. For that Church doth ſet her, as *Solomon* did his Mother, in the Throne with himſelf, though on that hand which ſignifies that he is ſtill the Supreme. Now it is manifeſt that Honour is diminiſhed, both where it is equally ſhared, and where a ſecond keepeth not diſtance, but doth obtain a point next to the firſt. For from degrees of Power and Diſtance, ariſe degrees of Honour; and a Prince that ſitteth alone in the Chair of State, is thereby in poſſeſſion of higher Honour, than he who hath a Second ſitting next him, though on the leſs honourable hand. And accordingly it was eſteemed a defect in Policy, both through the occaſion given by it of being ſupplanted, and through the diminution it made of Supreme Honour (of which each degree is a degree of Power), when any Princes in the *Roman* Empire [ſuch as *Ælius Adrianus*, and *Antoninus* the Philoſopher] admitted Seconds to ſit with them in the Throne of Government, though themſelves reſerved ſtill the firſt Place, and remained, as it were, the Heads of the Empire.

Now it is the practice of the Church of *Rome* to celebrate the Virgin as a kind of Co-Ruler with her Son; to ſalute her (as we heard but now from the Office of her Seven Allegreſſes) as a Queen on the right hand of Chriſt in his Throne.

The Scripture hath in it this Prophecy of the Meſſiah (*a*), *There ſhall come forth a Rod out of the ſtem of Jeſs, and a branch, or flower, ſhall grow or riſe out of his roots.* *Hierom Xaverius* hath wreſted this place, even from the ſenſe of the Vulgar Tranſlation; and he thus readeth it in his Perſic Goſpel (*b*): *A true branch*

a *Ex. gr. in Miſſ. Rom. in Feſt. præſ. B.M. p. 532. Deus, Qui B. Mariam —— bodierno die in Templo præſentari voluiſti; præſta, quæſumus, ut ejus Interceſſione in Templo gloriæ Tuæ præſentari mereamur* per Dominum noſtrum ——

a *Iſa.* 11. 1.

b *Xavier. Evangel. Perſ.* p. 33.

branch ſhall riſe out of the root of Jeſſe, and out of that branch a flower ſhall be born: Miſapplying the firſt to the Virgin, and the ſecond to Chriſt, whilſt both are ſpoken of him. To this miſinterpretation he might be led by the Hymn in the *Breviary* (*c*), which ſaluteth her by the Title of the Holy Root. And it is evident by the Pſalter of *Bonaventure*, which is known to turn *Lord* into *Lady*, throughout the *Pſalms* (not omitting to Traveſt that place of, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord*; into, *Our Lady ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand*); and by *Salazar*, who in his Commentary on the *Proverbs* interpreteth *Wiſdom* of the *Virgin*; that the *Marians* would ſerue up the ſenſe of the Old Teſtament into the aſſertion of a kind of coequality of the Virgin with Chriſt. Hence *Baronius* himſelf calleth her the Ark, in one place (*d*); and in another (*e*), the Tabernacle.

c *Brev. Rom. Ave Regina... Salve Radix Sancta. Ad Completor. p.* 107.

d *Baron. Annal. Tom* 2. p. 863.
e *Bar. Tom.* 5. p. 771. *Wichm. Sab. Mar.* p. 192. *Ecquod iſtud Tabernaculum* (Levit. 26.) *niſi Illa de Quâ Pſaltes* (Pſal. 45.) *ſanctificavit Tabernaculum ſuum Altiſſimus.*

The things relating to Chriſt under the New Teſtament, are equally perverted by this inordinate devotion to that Virgin, who cannot give thoſe a welcome reception, who with ſuch affront to her Son, make their Court to her.

As the Scripture mentioneth the Nativity of Chriſt celebrated by a Quire of Angels, ſo doth the *Roman* Church obſerve the Nativity of the Virgin, from a ſtory of melody heard from Heaven by a devout man in a Deſart, on her birth-day. *Hierom Xaverius* (*f*) hath ſet down this Story for Goſpel among the *Indians*; and *Innocent* the fourth, upon that report, caus'd the day to be Sacred.

f *Xav. Hiſt. Chriſti.* par. 1. p. 20, 21.

As Chriſts triumphant Aſcenſion is ſpoken of in the Scripture, and obſerved in our Church; ſo in the Legends of *Rome* there is frequent mention of her Aſſumption, and it is in that Church celebrated with pomp. Before that Office ſhe is pictur'd, in the Miſſal

* lately

lately Printed at *Paris* (*a*), ascending with a glory about her head, in equal shew of triumph with Christ.

As Christ is said in the *Te Deum*, to *have opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers*; so is the Virgin called by them, the Gate * and the Hall-gate of Heaven (*b*). As he is called Gods beloved Son, so is she called Gods beloved Daughter (*c*).

As Christ is said to be exalted above all things in Heaven and Earth; so is the Virgin called the Queen of Heaven, and sometimes the Queen of the Heavens, in reference to the Angels (*d*), and sometimes the Queen of Heaven and Earth (*e*). Nay the Jesuit *Rapine* hath enstated her in that Empire without any mention of the King her Son as above her (*f*).

As Christ is acknowledged by Christians to be the Head of the Church, and the only Mediator and Advocate; so the Virgin is stil'd in the Synod of *Mexico* (*g*), the Universal Patroness and Advocatress.

As the day has been divided into several portions in which devout people have prayed to God and Christ; so seven Canonical Hours have been appointed for the worship of the Virgin (*h*).

As God and Christ have the Sunday sacred to them, so in the *Roman* Church the Virgin hath Saturday (*i*). "On that day therefore, saith *Augustine Wichmans* *, "more Requests of miserable mortals are sealed by her "the *Chancelaress* of the greatest King, in the Court of "Heaven, than on all the other days of the week, "though put together, [the Lords day not excepted.]

a *Missal. Rom. Par.* 1660. p. 473.

* *In Hymno, Ave Maris stella.—Cœli Porta.*

b *J. Heigham* in his manual. p. 384.

c *Horst. Par. Anima. in Dedic. ante* Sect. 7. p. 415.—*Dilecta æterni Patris Filia.*

d *Missal. Rom. in Miss. Sacratiss. Rosarii B.V.M.* p. 120, *Ave Regina Cœlorum, mater Regis Angelorum*, &c.

e *Horst. Par. An.* p. 415. *Angelorum domina; Hominum Tutrici; Cœli Terræque Reginæ.*

f *R. Rapin. Eclog. Sacr.* Ecl. 13. p. 41, 42. *Postquam illam Cœli potestatumque potentum esse dedit, summique Deus præficit Olympo.*

g *Concil. Mexic. Romæ Confirmat. An.* 1589. l. 3. Tit. 18. Sect. 12. p. 1298. *Quid omnes speciali devotione gloriosissimam Virginem Mariam universalem Patronam & Advocatam prosequi debemus*, &c.

h *Gerbrard.* A. C. 1088. *Cum jam esset statutum ut Clerici Sept. horas canon. quotidie dicerent; totidem jussit in concilio apud Claromontum* A. C. 1096. *recitare quotidie in laudem Virginis, & instituit ipsius officium in Sabbathis.* See *Hotting. Hist. Eccl.* c. 11. vol. 2. p. 376.

i *Horst. Par. An.* Sect. 7. p. 417. *Diem Sabbathi Deiparæ Virginis Honori peculiariter dicavit Ecclesia.* &c.

* *In Sabb. Marian.* c. 6. p. 63, 64.

On that day [rather than on our Lords,] *Martin Navarre*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, desired to die *.

* *Wichm. ibid. p. 61.*

As it is said of the Father, *that no man cometh to Christ except he draw him.* So it is said of the Virgin, by *Augustine Wichmans* *, who calleth her the Treasuress of Graces, that no man cometh to her Son, unless she draw him by her most holy Aids. As in the Litany, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Three Persons and one God are invoked; so in the next place, they pray thrice to the Virgin, saying (*k*), *Holy* Mary *pray for us*; *Holy Mother of God pray for us*; *Holy Virgin of Virgins pray for us.* Other Saints, as also Angels, have there but one compellation.

* *Id. ibid. c. 13. p. 191.*

k *Offic. B. M. p. 133, 134. S. M. ora, &c.*

The Jesuit *Canisius* in his Manual for Catholicks (*l*), hath made up his fifteenth Exercise of three Litanies, of which the third is that of the Missal. But the first is the Litany of Christ, who in it is addressed to in fourty-four compellations: And the second is the Litany of the Virgin, who hath just so many, and these amongst them: *Thou cause of our joy! Thou seat of Wisdom! Thou Ark of the Covenant! Thou Gate of Heaven! Thou Refuge of Sinners! Thou Comforter of the afflicted! Thou help of Christians! Thou Queen of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, All Saints.*

l *P. Canis. Man. Cath. Antv. A. 1588. p. 332. Aug. wich. in Sabb. Mar. c. 13. p. 193. Si Maria non oravit, mundus totus non duravit.*

As in the Bible the Lord hath one hundred and fifty Psalmes, so (saith the Pope's Bull *) the Lady hath an hundred and fifty Salutations in her Rosary, which was therefore at first called her Psalter.

* *Bulla Sixt. 4. in Offav. Rom. Edv. Antv. A. 1628. infra Offav. Fest. B. M. V. p. 50. —— Tu es spes unica peccatorum, &c.*

As Christ is the Lord in whom the Church hopeth; so the Virgin is called in the *Roman* Offices (*m*), *The only hope of Sinners.*

As Christ is said to be in Scripture, *the Life*; so the Virgin is called by the *Marians*, *the Mother of Life* (*a*). As devout Christians commend their souls, when they leave

a *Horst. Par. An.* Sect. 7. p. 417. *Non mireris si Matrem vitæ, &c.*

leave this world, into the hands of Chriſt; ſo theſe *Marians* commend theirs into the hands of the Virgin, being taught a form of ſo doing (*b*). And they tell us, "that upon this account (*c*) the worſhip of the Virgin is chiefly to be commended, that ſhe is always preſent with her Clients in the agony of death, as a faithful Patroneſs and Mother. This is ſaid by *Horſtius*, who immediately crys out thus in a pang of *Marian* devotion, "O how many hath ſhe ſnatched out of the Jaws of death! O how many hath ſhe reſtored to the favour of her Son, and unto Heaven! Such another Suppliant was the late Jeſuit *Labbee*, who when he was dying, applied thoſe words to the Virgin, which are uſed of Chriſt (*d*).

I need not here add the Litany added to the Pſalter of *Bonaventure* (*e*), in which our Lady, inſtead of God, is deſired to have mercy, to deliver us from all evil, and from particular evils in ſuch Forms as this: *From the anger of God, from deſpair, pride, luxury, good Lady deliver us.*

That which I have mentioned before this is ſuch *hyperdulia*, or exceſs of Veneration, that by aſcribing too much to a particular Saint, it diminiſheth the Honour of our common Saviour. Thus it was not from the beginning; but the ſuperſtitious world hath departed from the firſt meaſures of the reverence due to the Virgin, and run into this inſufferable extreme. And how this has come to paſs, one of that Church, and one of the moſt judicious and diſintereſſed amongſt them, has faithfully told us *. After that the impiety of *Neſtorius* had divided Chriſt, making two Sons, and denying him to be God, who was born of the Bleſſed Virgin; the Church, to inculcate the Catholick Truth in the minds of the Faithful, made mention of her in the Churches as well of the Eaſt as of the Weſt, with

b *Maria mater Gratiæ*, &c. *& hora mortis ſuſcipe.*

c *Horſt. ibid. hoc potiſſ. nomine cult. V. Diip. Commend. quod Clientibus ſuis in mortis agone fidelis ſemper Patrona & mater aſſiſtat.* &c.

d *Labbe in Carm. in Præf. ante Op. Mar. Mercat.* p. 28. *Ad Virg. Orat. Hic te ad ſidera ſpiritus ſequatur, in terris fuit uſque qui ſecutus*, Mariam Ducem & Auſpicem Mariam.

e Pſalter of our Lady publiſhed with licenſe, in *French* at *Paris*, by *C. Chappelet*, *A.* 1601.

* Father *Paul* in his Hiſt. of the Conc. of *Trent.* l. 2. *A.* 1546. p. 170.

this ſhort form of words, in *Greek*, Μαριὰμ Θεοτόκος, in Latin, *Maria Mater Dei*; that is, *Mary the Mother of God.* This being inſtituted only for the Honour of Chriſt, was by little and little communicated alſo to the Mother, and finally applied to her alone. So when Images began to multiply, Chriſt was painted as a Babe in his Mothers arms, to put us in mind of the worſhip due unto him even in that Age: But in progreſs of time, it was turned into the worſhip of the Mother without the Son, he remaining as an Appendix in the Picture. The Writers and Preachers, eſpecially thoſe that were contemplative, carried with the torrent of the Vulgar, which is able to do much in theſe matters, leaving to mention Chriſt, invented with one accord new Praiſes, Epithetes, and Religious ſervices; inſomuch that about the year 1050, a daily Office was inſtituted to the Bleſſed Virgin, diſtinguiſhed by ſeven Canonical hours, in a Form which anciently was ever uſed to the honour of the Divine Majeſty: And in the next hundred years the worſhip ſo increaſed, that it came to the heigth, even to attribute that unto her, which the Scriptures ſpeak of the Divine Wiſdom. And amongſt theſe invented Novities this was one, her total exemption from Original ſin; yet this remained only in the breaſts of ſome few private men, having no place in Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, or amongſt the Learned. At laſt about the year 1136, the Canons of *Lions* dared to bring it into the Eccleſiaſtical Offices.

Secondly, The Honour of Chriſt is diminiſhed by that Veneration, though of an inferior nature, which is given to ſo many Angels and Saints, as Preſidents and Patrons in the Government of the Church. It is true, that the Honour of a Prince is increaſed by the multitude of his Attendants: Our Church therefore reverently declareth of Chriſt, *That ten thouſand times ten thou-*

thousand minister unto him. But delegation of Power to many by commission as Presidents, and not as Angels and Messengers, Ministers and Attendants, is a diminution of Honour by cantonizing of Power. And he is most absolute, and reserveth most of dependance, and thanks, and trust, and reverence, to himself, who dispatcheth all things by his immediate Authority. For Commissions cut power into many channels, and import either love of ease, or want of power to execute in person. The *Roman* Emperors were, in their Dominions, high and mighty Potentates, and their Vassals flattered them as Deities in flesh. But they would have appeared greater still, if they had not cut their Empire into its Eastern and Western parts, and administred affairs by Prefects, Vicars, Counts, Dukes, Consuls, Correctors, Presidents and others, executing power by subordinate Lieutenancy. And doubtless the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy* had many thanks paid him for his favours, without any acknowledgment made to the Emperor, though the fountain of his Power. In such cases, men look not beyond the State-officer, who befriends them, by virtue of his Patent and his derived Authority. But they would look to the Prince, if he immediately dispensed all honours and favours, though attended with a numerous guard, and employing many messengers and ministring Spirits.

A Caviller would, here, say, that by this Argument it may be concluded, that all Governours in this world, Ecclesiastical and Civil; all Princes and Magistrates; all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Superintendents and Presidents, are so many Idols, and Ordinances dishonourable to God and his Son. But judicious men will consider, that the Governments on earth are not the patterns of the invisible world. Here God ruleth,

in

in this manner, not for his own ſake, but for ours, we being mortal men, and needing the aids of men like our ſelves, whilſt we ſojourn in this body: and for him to adminiſter immediately to our outward infirmities in this world, were for him to be always groſly incarnate.

This conceit of the inviſible world as modelled like the viſible, hath brought forth that excuſe of a voluntary humility in the *Romiſh* Suppliants, who, as if the Court of Heaven were like that on Earth, dare not preſume to come immediately to the King, but apply themſelves to him by the mediation of ſome of his Officers. A King is but a man, and cannot hear all complaints in perſon, and redreſs all grievances. Could he do it with the Power, and Wiſdom, and Grace, and eaſie operation of a Deity, all might then have immediate acceſs to him, or to him by the Prince his Son, ſuppoſed to be of a like nature and quality. And who, on earth, when he is invited by the Monarch himſelf to apply himſelf to him immediately, or to him by his Son; addreſſeth himſelf to neither, but to ſome meaner Favourite, of whoſe intereſt, for the diſpatch of his Affair, he hath no aſſurance given him?

Thirdly, Should we lay aſide this conſideration of that Preſidentſhip and Patronage, to which the *Romaniſts* entitle ſo many Saints; yet the very frequency uſed in addreſſes to them, though by mere requeſt of their Praiers for us, would, not a little, tend to the diminution of the honour of God and Chriſt. It is notorious to thoſe who paſs the Seas in the ſame Bottoms with *Romiſh* Mariners, that thoſe Seamen, in a ſtorm, apply not themſelves immediately to God, but repeat the Hymn, to the holy Virgin, of, *Hail, Star of the Sea!* To this purpoſe is that which *Lipſius* telleth (a) of Thirteen men in peril by a Tempeſt, in their paſ-

(a) *Lipſ. Virg. Hallen. p. 1261. Op.*

paſſage to *Antwerp*. Amongſt them, the Maſter, conceiving no hope of ſaving the Veſſel, or the lives of the Paſſangers, exhorted them to ſubmit themſelves wholly to God, and ſo to paſs to a better ſtate, after the loſs of this. But, it ſeems, one amongſt them ſuggeſted Vows and Invocations to the Lady of *Halla*; and his counſel is embraced. Straightway (ſays he) a light ſhone on the Veſſel, and the Tempeſt ceaſed, and the Veſſel arrived at the Haven, with loſs of goods, but not of the Paſſengers, who repaired to *Halla*, and profeſſed themſelves to owe their life to the Virgin, and paid with faithfulneſs, the Vows they had made. It had been more pious, ſurely, to have thanked God and the Virgin, or rather God alone, who, it may be, by other means, or by himſelf, was their deliverer. But ſuperſtitious men judg of Cauſes by the concomitancie of the effects, and not by the virtue which produceth them. And this is not only the fruit of ſuperſtition in the rude and ignorant, but in the politeſt of the Eccleſiaſtics. The very Jeſuites (for ſo did Father *Garnet* (*b*) at his execution) afford God the leſs of their Application by being ſo buſied, at their laſt hour, with their aforeſaid, *Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, defend us from the enemy, and protect us in the hour of death:* which Verſicles (ſay the compoſers (*c*) of the confeſſion of *Saxony*) we heard a Monk, a Profeſſor of Divinity, inculcate, very often, to a dying man, without any mention of Chriſt Jeſus. And it hath been commonly obſerved, as a great blot in the *Romiſh* devotions, That they uſe many *Ave Maria*'s to one *Pater Noſter*. [Which Collects, by the way, being repeated by them with ſuch careleſs haſte; the jabbering of any thing, in an indiſtinct, heedleſs way, is by us called patering]. *Labbe* a learned Jeſuite, though in his ſickneſs he was not forgetful of Chriſt

b See Proceed. ag. Traytors. pag. *ult.* croſſing himſelf, he ſaid, *In nom. Patr. &c.* then *Maria mater Gratiæ, &c.* then *in manus tuas, &c.* then *per crucis hoc ſignum fugiat procul omne maligum.* Then he concludes with, *Maria mater Gratiæ, &c.*

c Confeſſ. Saxon. in corp. Confeſſ. p. 88. *de Invoc. Hom. Pior. &c.*

Christ his Saviour, yet he mentions the frequency of his addresses to the Virgin, during the rage of his Feaver (*d*). This a stander by, not knowing his principles, would have judged to have been the effect of his distemper. Thus, then, this new *Marian* devotion much diminisheth, and sometimes quite justleth out, the ancient and unquestionable worship of Jesus; as they say, S. *Ambrose* is almost forgotten, already, at *Milan* (*e*), through the newer veneration of S. *Charles Borromee*.

d See *Garnerius* in his Pref. to *M. Mercator.* p. 27,28. *Orat. ad Virg. Nec tu non mihi sæpius vocata, Ardores sibris intermissuose, &c.*

e Spalatens. de Rep. Eccl. l. 7. c. 5. p 93. Carolus profecto Mediolani Ambrosii nomen fere extinxit.

Two things now may be, perhaps, jointly pretended towards the disabling the foregoing Discourse; and I will return a brief answer to them.

First, It is taken for confessed, That those to whom the *Romanists* pray as unto Patrons and Patronesses, are real Saints in Heaven.

Secondly, The *Romanists* pretend to prove that God hath declared himself to have conferred such honourable office, place, and power upon these Patrons; by the miracles they have wrought for the behoof of their Clients.

For the first suggestion; It is confessed that they worship none but such as have been thought professors of Christianity, and such who are reputed to be exalted above either Hell or Purgatory. Notwithstanding this, I dare not avouch the eminent Saintship, and glorified estate of all that are canonized. They who read, without partiality, the History of S. *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, will be inclined to think him put into the Kalender by as much mistake, as many other things are put into our vulgar Almanacks. I see that, even some of the *Roman* Communion, do impute his saintship (*f*) rather to the fervour of his zeal, than to the ground of his Cause.

f Essais de morale vol. 3. des defaults des Gens de bien. Sect. 17. p. 318. Il y a gens de bien Qui examinant la vie de S. Thomas de Cantorbie, & ce Dieu jugera de ce different plûtost par la pureté du cœur Du Saint, & par la mechanceté de son Adversaire, que par la fond de la cause.

*

What

What can a man that reverenceth God, think of the Saintſhip of St. *Bernardin* of *Siena*, when he conſidereth of his Doctrine, apt to give pain to the modeſty of the Virgin, almoſt in Heaven it ſelf? This Saint, after a long compariſon betwixt God and Bleſſed *Mary* (*a*), thus (thus blaſphemouſly) concludeth. "If "then we give to each their due, in that which God "hath done for man, and which the Virgin hath done "for God himſelf; you ſee for your comfort, that "*Mary* hath done more for God, than God for man; "whence God for the Virgins ſake, is much obliged "to us. Methinks by theſe words he is juſt ſuch another Saint as the Author of the Conformities (*b*), who writes the parallel of Chriſt and St. *Francis*, and giveth to St. *Francis*, the preheminence. What can a peaceable Chriſtian think of the Saintſhip of Pope *Hildebrand*, or St. *Gregory* the ſeventh? Was it not he who imbroiled the World; who taught * that Kings and "Dukes had their original from thoſe who not know-"ing God, did by pride, rapines, perfidiouſneſs, mur-"thers, and by almoſt all manner of wickedneſſes "(through the inſtigation of the Devil, the Prince of "this world) affect to domineer over their equals, or "other men, with blind ambition, and intolerable "preſumption; who depoſed *Henry* the fourth King of the *Germans*, and abſolved his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and who endeavour'd to ſet up a Papal Monarchy to the diſquiet of all Nations? Neither is it for the Honour of the Goſpel of Peace to Saint either Pope *Victor*, or Pope *Stephen*, who firſt took upon them to be Biſhops, or rather Cenſurers, out of the Dioceſs that belonged to them. Nor did the ancient Church own them as Saints or Martyrs, as doth the modern one of *Rome* (*c*).

Intereſt of State hath oftentimes exalted them to

a See *A. Rivet.* l. 2. *Apol. pro S. V. M. & Car. Drelincurtium de Honore B. V. M. debito.*

b See *Hen. Apol.* for *Herod.* l. 1. c. 25. p. 205.

* *Greg.* 7. *l.* 8. *Ep.* 21.

c See Conſid. touching the true way to ſuppreſs Popery; in the Hiſt. acc. of the Reform. p. 81, 82, &c.

the Honour of Saints, who had never obtained that high Title by their meer piety of life. It hapned tolerably in respect of the person, when *Thomas Aquinas* was registred among the Saints; for he was a man of great Scholastick Learning, and of a mighty zeal in the *Roman* way. But for the true reason of his being Canonized, it was secular enough. For Pope *John* the Two and twentieth, to depress the *Franciscans*, who did for the most part adhere to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Excommunicated by him (*d*), did canonize that Doctor and his Doctrine directly opposite to that of the Followers of St. *Francis*, in the Article of the Virgins Immaculate Conception.

d Father *Paul* in Hist. of Counc. of *Tr.* p. 170, 171. l. 2. Ed. ult.

Money also maketh such gods, being first made one it self. And who knows whether it hath not sometimes Canonized evil men? For they whom it thus bribeth, are not usually beyond the outward colour and pretence, respecters of Saintship. Canonization (they say) secureth Christians from worshipping the damned instead of the blessed. I wish (saith the Archbishop of (*a*) *Spalato*) that it brings not to pass that very thing which they think it preventeth. "In this (as he goes "on) are the faithful safe, if they reduce their wor"ship to the sole worship of God. And here it is worthy our observation, that *Gregory* the ninth complained on his death-bed of that vicious easiness of his, whereby he listned to the dreams and visions of such who pretended to great sanctity, and occasioned great schisms and disturbances in the Church (*b*). He meaneth this in all likelihood, of *Catherine* of *Siena*, by whom he was deluded, and thereby drawn into a desperate schism; yet she is St. *Catherine*, and her Clients are many. It is a strange infallibility with which the Pope is invested, if he can judg without error, of the manners of such whom he has seldom in his eye, and who want

a *Spalat: de Repub. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 5. p. 94.

b See *Gerson. de Exam. Doct.* par. 2. Cons. 3.

want not their flatterers, whatsoever is their party. It is therefore much safer to own the ancient Saints, such as St. *Chrysostome*, and St. *Ambrose*, whom the whole Church Canonized by its consent, than such Modern ones as St. *Catherine*, and St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whom the Authority of the Pope hath put into the Calendar. Of some then the Saintship is doubtful; and of some the very existence. For are not the three Kings of *Colen* as such, a very fiction? yet are they worshipped in the *Roman* Church, as Guardian-Saints (*a*). And *Horstius* "prayeth them to obtain for him "the frankincense of devout Prayer, the myrrh of "Mortification, and the gold of Charity. Is not think you St. *Almachius* a substantial Patron? yet such a one there is in some *Roman* Calendars (*b*), the title of *Sanctum Almanacum*, being first by mistake written too low against the first day of *January*; yet a Saint he must be. And *Baronius* is loth to part with him, and in his Martyrology he will have him to be the same with St. *Telemachus* (*c*).

But secondly, They will prove their Saints to be both Saints and Patrons by the miracles they work upon Invocation (*d*). Thus the Popes in the *Bullarium*, recite the many miracles wrought by their Saints, and then they decree them a place in the Calendar. Thus the Catechism of *Trent* proves the honour of *Patrocinie* (*e*) to be due to the Saints, by the wonders seen at their Sepulchres and Relicks. Thus *Baronius* (*f*) telleth of the Saintship and Miracles of the aboveslaid *Gregory* the seventh, and of a virtue in his Garments equal to that in the handkerchers of the Primitive Christians, mentioned in the Acts. Thus Mr. *White* (*g*) boasteth of the restitution of a leg (cut off and buried four years) to a young man who prayed to our Lady of *Pilar*; affirming the story to be sufficient to convert the whole world.

a *Horst. Par. An.* Sect. 2. p. 103. *Commend. & Obl. ad Sanctos tres magos & Reges, quorum sacra corpora religiosè asservat & colit Agr. Colonia. O sancti magi,* &c.

b *Baron. Mart. Rom.* 1. *Jan.* p. 1.

c *Bar. ibid.* p. 5.

d See *Syn. Nicen.* 2. Act. 4. p. 249, &c.

e *Cat. ex Decr. Conc. Trid. ad Parochos. in* 1. *Præc.* p. 392.

f *Baron. Ann. A. C.* 1085. *N.* 13. p. 612. Tom. 11.

g *T. W.* (under the borrowed name of *Fran. Count*) in his *Enchiridion* of Faith, at the end of his Catechetical Dialogue.

To this ſecond Allegation many things may be returned.

Firſt, When God wrought Miracles at the Tombs of the Martyrs, he wrought them not as anſwers to them who invoked Martyrs, (for in thoſe times they were honoured as Saints, and as Soldiers dying in Chriſts cauſe, and not invoked as Patrons); but he thereby encouraged Chriſtians in times of Perſecution, and honoured their Religion in the ſight of the Heathen.

Secondly, There is no reaſon to expect ſuch Miracles in the ſetled Ages of Chriſtian Religion, though there might be at the firſt planting of it. And,

Thirdly, We have had a long time, a fixed rule from whence we may learn the practical truth and duties of our Religion, the Word of God. Neither hath God left ſo great a part of his Worſhip as Prayer, to be derived from the dreams of the Melancholy, or the deluſions of Satan, or the Tales of men who write Legends for the advantage of their cauſe, or other tricks of politick perſons. He hath required us in Scripture to call upon him through Jeſus Chriſt: and he hath confirmed this and his whole Goſpel, by the real Miracles of his Apoſtles, after thoſe of his Son; and the Goſpel being thus fixed, we are not to expect any new diſcoveries of Evangelical duty by the voice or miracle of an Angel from Heaven, who if he ſhould be in ſuch manner ſent to us, with any new Doctrinal or Moral Revelation, ought to be looked on by us as one that trieth our Faith, and not as one from whom a new rule of faith or manners is to be received.

Fourthly, Many *Romiſh* Miracles are events not effects. A Popiſh woman is extremely ſick in body, ſhe cauſeth an Image of the Virgin, as is the faſhion now among ſome *Romaniſts* in *England*, to be hanged within

in her curtains, at the feet of her bed. She invoketh the Virgin, and uſeth Phyſick; ſhe recovers by Art, by ſtrength of nature, by any other way of Gods Providence; and the Virgin is entituled to the Cure, becauſe the event followed their Invocation of her.

Fifthly, Many of the Miracles, are too light to be aſcribed to the Saints of Heaven. The credulous *Lipſius* confirms the Invocation of our Lady of *Halla* by ſtories, ſome of them very ſtrange, and ſome very ludicrous. He tells of a Boy raiſed by her from the dead after three days (*a*). Of a Taylor whom ſhe helped to his needle and thread (*b*), after they had been ſwallowed down by him. Of a Soldier who by Miracle loſt his noſe (*c*), having threatned to cut off that of her Image. So *Cantapratanus* and *Antoninus* (*d*) tell at large, how the Virgin mended the hairy ſhirt of Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*.

a *Lipſ. Virg. Hall.* c. 19. p. 1264.
b *Lipſ. ibid.* c. 25. p. 1272.
c *Id. ibid.* c. 7. p. 1256.
d See *Augwichmans Sab. Mar.* p. 73.

Sixthly, Many of them are mere cheats performed by cunning men under the notion of pious frauds. A Prieſt skilled as much in Phyſick as Divinity, knows the ſick *Romaniſt* to whom he is Confeſſor, to need a vomit. He exhorteth him to invoke the holy Virgin; he biddeth him view well her Image which he hath put into an Antimonial cup; he adviſeth him to drink of that liquor into which her Image and her bleſſing hath infuſed virtue, and to repeat his devotions to the Virgin his Patroneſs. The ſick ignorant man obeys, believes him, diſchargeth his ſtomack, and is preſently eaſed. He crys out, a Miracle, a Miracle; he is conſtant to his *Aves* all his days.

There are ſome who know this to be an Hiſtory, though I have told it in the form of a ſuppoſition.

Seventhly, Many Wonders and Apparitions are the deluſions of the Devil, and dangerous ſhares in which he entangleth the commonalty of that Church. By this means

means he often reconciles himſelf to their favour, and they take him in this diſguiſe for a real Angel of Light. What other conſtruction can a wiſe man make of the ſtory in *Mathew Paris* concerning the Specter ſaid to appear to the Earl of *Cornwall* (*a*)? "The ſame hour, "ſaith the Reporter, that *William Rufus* fell by the "hand of Sir *Walter Tyrrell*, the Earl of *Cornwall* be-"ing alone in the Forreſt, met with a great hairy "black Goat, carrying the King black and naked, and "wounded through the midſt of his breaſt. He adju-"ring the Goat by the holy Trinity to tell what this "meant, the Goat made him this reply: I carry to his "doom your King, or rather your Tyrant, *William* "*Rufus*. For I am an evil ſpirit, and an avenger of "that malice of his with which he raged againſt the "Church of Chriſt; and I procured his murther.

a *Mat. Paris in A. C.* 1100.

They who believe theſe Legends, and take ſuch Apparitions as meaſures of their Faith, will think the Devil good-natur'd towards Chriſtianity, and an executor of vengeance on the enemies of it; though in truth he himſelf is its greateſt and moſt inveterate foe, and wounds it deepeſt when he ſtrikes at it in the diſguiſe of a friend.

The ſtories concerning the appearance of the Virgin to her Clients are very numerous, and of them too many repreſent her in unbecoming poſtures. And ſuch appearances ſhould rather move the dread and abhorrence, than encourage the Invocation of the *Romaniſts*, being either the Images of an unclean brain, or the Specters of impure Devils.

Laſtly, Let not the *Papiſts* prove their worſhip of Saints, as the Heathen did their worſhip of Dæmons.

And here I end my Diſcourſe concerning the Worſhip of Saints in the *Roman* Church, as Patrons, and Patroneſſes, as Preſidents and Lieutenants in the Government

vernment of the World, with the ſenſe of the judicious and moderate Archbiſhop of *Spalato* (*a*).

(*a*) *Spalat. de Republ. Eccleſiaſt.* l. 7. c. 12. p. 287.

"This in my judgment is the great objection a-
"gainſt the Invocation of Angels, the Holy Virgin,
"or other Saints whoſe ſouls are with God in Heaven,
"that it is in the higheſt degree of peril to become
"Religious Worſhip; for it is out of doubt that the
"ruder people do religiouſly invoke the Saints; and
"that many are internally more affected with religious
"paſſion towards the Virgin, or ſome Saint, than to-
"wards Chriſt himſelf. For they invoke not a Saint as
"one that prayeth for them, but as the principal
"Helper. Neither ſay they, Pray for me; but help me;
"Come to my Aid; Save me. Nor do they expreſs it
"in words, or underſtand it in their minds, that theſe
"things be done for them by the Saints praying for
"them; but that the Saints themſelves do immediate-
"ly perform theſe things. And in invocating of them,
"many wholly devote themſelves, all their ſoul, and
"and ſpirit, to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints; and
"ſubject themſelves wholly to them in Spirituals:
"which is a kind of formed Idolatry.

Now though by this Diſcourſe, I may have given offence unto the *Marians*; or rather ſaid that which will be made an offence by their miſconſtruction; I am not jealous that I have at all offended thoſe bleſſed ſpirits, if they have knowledg of that which I write. For they are not covetous of undue honour; but caſt thoſe Crowns with high indignation under their feet, which are ſet on their heads to the diſhonour of God, by the Idolatrous flatteries of fooliſh men.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Idolatry Charged on the Papiſts *in their Worſhip of Images. And firſt of the Worſhip of an Image of God.*

IT ſtill remaineth that I ſpeak of the Worſhip of Images in the *Roman* Church, and of that degree of Idolatry with which it ſeemeth to be ſtained.

And for Images I will briefly conſider, thoſe of the Trinity, of God, of Chriſt, of the Saints, and under that of Chriſts, the ſtatue of the Croſs.

For the Image of the Trinity we muſt not charge either the making or the worſhipping of it upon the very conſtitution of the Church of *Rome*, though men of that Communion have often done both, and the Miſſals, Breviaries, and Manuals Printed with licenſe in theſe times (*a*) abound with ſuch Pictures. Formerly that Church was very ſevere againſt ſuch practices. And Pope *John* the 22*d* (*b*) arraigned certain people in *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*, who had painted God the Father as an old man, and the Son as a young man, and the Holy Ghoſt as a Dove, as violaters of Religion: And he pronounced them *Anthropomorphites*, and condemned ſome of them to the Fire. It ſeems the modern Popes are not ſo ſtrict: neither did the late Printers of the Miſſal at *Paris*, or of the Manual of *Horſtius* at *Colen*, dread their Fire; they having adorned the Copies of thoſe Books with ſuch dangerous Sculptures. And it ſhould ſeem by what Mr. *Baxter* hath ſaid (*c*), "That ſome among our ſelves have had a zeal for ſuch "Pictures; for he tells of a Tumult raiſed where he "had

a See the *Front.* of *de Saltz* of the Love of God, *&c.*

b *Aventin. Annal. Bojor.* l. 7. p. 751. See *Epiſt.* 32. *Alexandri* P. 3. *ad Soldanum Iconii baptizati cupientem. ap. Concil. Max.* Tom. 10. p. 1214. B. —*Licet nihil invenire poſſimus, quod expreſſam habeat unitatis, quæ in Deo eſt, & ſummæ Trinitatis Imaginem*, &c.

c Mr. *Baxter* in his Commonwealth. c. 13. p. 457.

"had dwelt, upon a falſe rumour, that the Church-
"wardens were about to obey the Parliaments Order,
"in taking down the Images of the Trinity about the
"Church. But moſt probable it is, that the zeal of the multitude was ready to defend ſuch Images, or paintings in windows, rather as the ornaments of the place, in general; than, diſtinctly, as Pictures of the myſterious Trin-unity.

Concerning the Image of God, I find not now, as in former times, in the publick Books of the Church of *Rome*, any forms of Benediction, by which it ſhould be conſecrated; though there be forms enough of the conſecration of Croſſes, and of the Images of Chriſt and his Saints. Neither doth the Council of *Trent* ordain, either the making, or the veneration of the Image of God, though it ſuppoſeth that it is, ſometimes, painted in ſacred ſtory, for the uſe of their people. For it giveth order (*a*) that the people be inſtructed ſo far, as not to take ſuch a Picture for Divinity figured. Nay the Catechiſm, by Decree of that Council, ſpeaketh thus, in the explication of their firſt Commandment (*b*). "*Moſes*, when he "would turn the people from Idolatry, ſaid to them, "*You ſaw no ſimilitude, on the day in which the* "*Lord ſpake to you in Horeb from the midſt of* "*the fire*: which that moſt wiſe Lawgiver, therefore "ſaid, leſt, being ſeduced by error or miſtake, they "ſhould make *an Image of the Divinity*, and ſo give "the honour due to God unto a creature. Yet that ſuch Images are made, and honoured in the *Roman* Church, is very notorious. And it is not long ſince, here in *England*, ſome Proteſtants ſaw a ſilver Image of God the Father, carried in Proceſſion, in the Paſſion-week, and venerated with ſhews of high devotion. The Learned, who are cautious, forbear the open de-

a *Conc. Trid. de Invocat. ventr. &c.* p. 896. *quod ſi aliquando Hiſtorias, &c.*

b *Catech. ex Decr. Conc. Tridint.* p. 394.

ſence of ſuch Images; yet they call them *Judaizers* who eſteem the worſhip of God, by them, to be Idolatry. And, in their diſcourſes, they ſeem to favour this Practice, ſo far as the tenderneſs of that ſubject will ſuffer it to be touched, by ſaying there is no expreſs Text againſt it (*a*), together with other very kind expreſſions, which diſcover their inclination. Alſo the frequency and allowance of ſuch Pictures, which under their ſtrict Diſcipline is ſcarce to be imputed to the liberty of Painters and Engravers, ſheweth many Eccleſiaſticks to be well-willers to them; [though not as true repreſentations; the hereſie of the groſs *Anthropomorphites* being, as ſuch, renounced by them]. I inſtance only in that frontiſpiece which is put before every of the three parts of the *Roman* Pontifical, Printed at *Lyons*. There, on the Top, in a very wooden cut, is pictured an old man with a Globe in his hand, and a glory ſtreaming from all parts of him. On his head there is a Triple Crown, or Miter, and over it this Motto, *Holy-Trinity, one God, have mercy upon us.* At the bottom, the Pope is plac'd, in a like Garb, with Miter, and Key; and a glory about his head.

(*a*) See T. G. Catholicks no Idolaters. c. 3. p. 33, *&c.*

I do not ſay that the worſhip of ſuch Images is Idolatry, by virtue of the firſt (or, with us) the ſecond command, conſidered as a Moſaical precept. The Tables of ſtone themſelves have, long ago, been broken in ſunder in that ſenſe; even by the very finger of God: For we are not under the Law of *Moſes*, but under the Covenant of the Goſpel. But if there be any natural reaſon in that Law, it is eternal and unalterable, like the great Author of it. By virtue of that precept, it was (as many think) unlawful for any Jew to make any protuberant ſtatue, either of God, or Demon; or Man, or Animal; and much more to exhibit ſigns of reverence before them. For the very

very making of Images would have induced that ritual people to the worship of them; they wanting little besides an outward object to receive the signs of their inward inclination. And, if they had exhibited such signs before an Image, the Gentiles would have expounded them as a compliance with their worship. Of these things God was jealous, and therefore gave command that the Monster of Idolatry should not exist, so much as in any seed or Embrio of it. And whensoever men are in such circumstances, that an Image is a snare to themselves, and to others an apparent scandal, or a confirmation of them in their evil way; this command doth oblige them by parity of Reason. And, in the days of *Tertullian* (*a*) The Christians seem to have been nigh such circumstances, being mingled amongst the Heathen, and so prone to their works, that (as he, in an holy indignation, professeth) there were more lights hung out at the doors of the Christians, then at those of the Heathen themselves: Lights, not for the direction of the passengers, but for the honour of Idols. He, therefore, sutably to the exigence of that time, urged the second command with a kind of Mosaick strictness; and declamed against all Statuaries and Painters, as Artists of the Commonwealth of darkness.

a Tertull. de Idol. Sect. 15. p. 94. *at nunc lucent Tabernæ & Januæ nostræ, &c.*

But, a Reason there is, in that command, which doth always oblige, and the force of it reacheth to mankind. Two things, I suppose, are perpetually forbidden by it.

The first is, the making of any Image of any false God, and the honouring of it, in that quality, when it is made. I say in that quality, for it is not unlawful to carve or paint the Images of false gods, by way of story, or in order to the exposing of them in the particulars in which they are ridiculous; or to value

them, if they be ancient, and done by good hands, as rarities of price; and he hath little of judgment or charity, who condemns every Antiquary as an Idolater. The *Genevians* have, uſually, here, in their Houſes, the Pictures of *Calvin* and *Luther*, and ſuch others, together with thoſe of the Pope and the Devil, ſpending vainly, their breath againſt the Light which they had ſet up. And we ſuffer, in *England*, the Pictures of falſe gods in the *Ovid* of Mr. *Sandys*, as well as they do, in *Italy*, the Images of *Cartari*.

The ſecond thing is, the attempting the repreſentation of the true God, and the worſhipping of it as his Image. I ſay the attempting of it, to avoid the Cavil of the Author of τῷ καθολικῷ; for he mocketh at this ground of the command (*a*), namely, becauſe Gods infinite eſſence cannot be repreſented, as a reaſon which idly eſtabliſheth a Law from the impoſſibility of the breaking of it. And he, profanely, compares it to the reaſon of the *Monſieur*, who forbad his Bowyer to make him ſhafts of a Pigs Tail, becauſe no ſhafts could be made of it. And yet it is a reaſon inſiſted on by the very Catechiſm of the Council of *Trent* above-cited (*b*). But who knows not that ſuch an Image was forbidden not properly to be made or perfected, but to be attempted to be made; becauſe the workman would fail in his attempt, not only to his own ſhame, but the diſhonour of the true God?

a *I. V. C. τῷ καθολικῷ. Stillingfleet.* p. 45, 46.

b *Cat. ex decr. Conc. Trid.* p. 394. cited here p. 265.

The Idols of the Heathen might be repreſented: For being nothing but creatures of God, or Phantaſms, the creatures of their brains; they were capable of ſome reſemblance. They appeared to the eye, and in a Picture in the fancy; and, conſequently, might be imitated by mans Art. But the eſſence of God is like nothing that is finite; neither like Man, nor like the Heavens, which latter *Diodorus* moſt falſly and

" irra-

"irrationally maketh to be the God of *Moses*; adding "that therefore he forbad all Images of him in humane "figure (*a*); whilst he forbad the likeness of any thing in the Heavens, Earth, or Waters. Nor can Gods essence so appear by it self, as to shew its very self. We have a notion of God, but no proper Idea of him, for that importeth in the force of the word, an object with its Imagery perceived in the brain. Hence the Synod of *Nice* it self did not favour any Images of the Divinity (*b*).

But ere I proceed further in this Argument, I think it necessary to premise a distinction of Images, and to consider how much or how little of the Idol is in each of them.

Of Images then I consider four sorts, taking the liberty to call them Images of Analogy, of Memory, of Representation, of Presence.

By Images of Analogy, I mean such Objects as bear some Metaphorical proportion to some excellencies of God, though they be not the proper Images, Statues, or Pictures of them. Such an Image was that of *Jupiters*, remembred by *Vignola* in his Discourse of the five Orders in Building. He mentioneth there a Capital, in which were the Images of four Eagles instead of Stalks; and instead of Fruits and Flowers, four *Jupiters* faces with Thunderbolts under them. A Representation this may be judged of the power, piercing eye, quick execution of will, in their own *Jove*, in the four Quarters of the World. Such an Analogical Image of the true God do some *Papists* (*c*) esteem, the Statue or Picture of an aged man, whose years and experience, are apt to signifie the Eternity and Wisdom of God; and that of a Dove, to signifie his purity and simplicity, in a manner suitable to our conception. In both these Instances, I think they are mistaken. *Daniel* (as shall

a *Diod. Sic. ap. Photii Biblioth.* p. 1151.

b *Syn. Nic.* 2. *Act.* 3. p. 184, 185. *a Theodoro Patr. Hierosol.* —— ὃ [h.e. τοῦ χριστοῦ] ἡ εἰκὼν καὶ ἐντύπωμα, ὑ τῆς θεότητος, &c. ἀόρατος γὰρ καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος ἡ θεία φύσις, καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

c *T. G.* Catholicks no Idolaters. c. 4. p. 61.

ſhall be ſhewed in the laſt Chapter) did not mean the Godhead, or the Father, by the *Ancient of Days*. Neither ought his tranſient Viſion which had ſomething humane mixt with it, be made a ſtanding-pattern in Religion. Such Viſions being impreſſed on the fancy, could not be there repreſented without ſome earthly Imagery, which the enlightned reaſon of the Prophet could ſeparate from the Diviner part, which is the thing principally intended. Now to bring the whole ſcene with its glory and its imperfection, before the eyes of the people, in Gods ſtanding-worſhip, is to confound in their Imaginations, things ſacred and ſecular, and ſo adulterate their Devotion. Then for the Image of a Dove, the Text in the Goſpels proveth no more, than that the Spirit imitated the gentle hovering of that Bird: And the learned think it did ſo in the appearance of a bright cloud, hovering with gentle motion over the waters, and the Perſon of our Lord baptized in them.

It is plain by the words of St. *Auſtine* (*b*), that he thought it Idolatrous to contemplate God in our mind, according to the extent of thoſe expreſſions which we uſe in ſpeaking of him. And the like certainly he judged of contemplating God according to Dreams and Viſions, which are partly humane, and partly divine. Thus then that great Light of *Africa* diſcourſeth: "We believe——that [Chriſt] ſitteth at "the right hand of the Father. Yet thence are we not "to think that the Father is circumſcribed with hu- "mane form, ſo as to occur to our mind contempla- "ting of him as one that has a right and a left hand, "or as one ſitting with bended knees; leſt we fall "into that ſacriledg for which the Apoſtle condemneth "thoſe who turned the glory of the Incorruptible God "into the ſimilitude of corruptible man. Such a Statue "is

(*b*) *S. Aug. de Fide & Symb. c. 7.*

"is not without impiety, erected to God in a Christi-
"an Temple, much more in the heart, where the Tem-
"ple of God is truly situate, if it be purged from
"earthly concupiscence and error.

St. *Austin* then (as *Spalatensis* (*a*) reflecteth on these words) would have advised that the Visions of *Daniel*, and other of that nature, produced by *Bellarmine*, should be contemplated with the mind, and not be pictured, especially in Churches; that they should be resolved into their "true signification, and not im-
"pressed upon the brain; lest through the Picture of
"an Old man, or Dove, the defects of Age, wings
"and bill, possess the imagination.

(*a*) *Spal. de Republicâ Eccles.* vol. 3. l. 7. c. 12. p. 293.

There is danger in using any Images of Animals, as Statues or Pictures of God; for they will be made not Images only of Analogy, but of representation, by the ignorant; whilst shape and life are personally set forth. But there is not so great danger in the Images of things without life, especially if they be flat Pictures, not Protuberant Statues, nor Pictures which the Artist hath expressed with roundness. The worse and the more flat the work is, the less danger there is of its abuse. *Titian* hath painted the Virgin and the Child Jesus so very roundly, that (as Sir *Henry Wotton* a very good judg both of the pictures and dispositions of men, saith (*b*) of it) a man knows not whether to call it a piece of Sculpture or Picture.

(*b*) Sir *Hen. Wottons* Letters. p. 315.

In some kinds of Pictures, if there be found analogy, and that analogy be discreetly expressed [as by the name *Jehovah*, or according to the *Jewish* modesty, *Adonai*, incircled with clouds and rays of glorious Light;] I know no sin in the making of it, or contemplating in it, in a Metaphorical way, some of the Perfections of the infinite God, in such manner expressed. A devout man would not put a Paper with such an impression,

to

to vile uſes: He would think it fitter for his Cloſet than for his Chamber of *Grimaces*; though he would not think it the repreſentation of God, or give it Divine honour, by inward eſtimation, or outward ſigns.

By Images of memory, I mean ſuch Objects as contain in them no analogy to the Divine Perfections, nor any pretended repreſentation of them; but yet are apt to put us in mind of God, being erected as Pillars or Monuments in places where he has done ſome great and excellent work. Such was the Pillar of *Jacob*; and in the making of ſuch there is no unlawfulneſs; nor in exhibiting before them ſuch ſigns of honour as are proper to be ſhewed before a monument of Divine Wiſdom, Power, or Goodneſs; unleſs in times and places where other ſuch Statues are erected to falſe gods, and the erection and honour of them, is by common conſtruction, the mark of their Worſhippers. Such Images of memory are often exhibited by God himſelf. Such was the pillar of Salt, into which the body of *Lots* Wife was converted; a pillar of Remembrance of Gods juſtice, and of admonition to them who look back towards the pollutions which they have eſcaped. Such was the aduſt earth which *Solinus* ſpeaks of, in thoſe places where the inhabitants of *Sodom* were deſtroyed by Sulphureous flames from Heaven: though it was no pillar, yet was it a monument of Divine power, and ſeverity towards their unnatural luſts. And he that carves, engraves, or paints theſe holy Hiſtories, may be an uſeful Artiſt.

By Images of Repreſentation, I mean Statues or Pictures made by art, with intent to exhibit the likeneſs of the perſon. The making and worſhipping ſuch Images of him, God himſelf condemneth; appealing to the world, whether there be any thing in nature to which he can be reſembled. Such a Repreſentation is undue

undue, though made according to the best pattern in the visible world; and much more if it be made in viler, and as the Heathen were wont to do, in the Images of *Priapus* and *Attis* (*a*), in immoral figures. And the Worshipper who gives to it veneration as to an Image of God, does highly dishonour him, by changing his essential glory into such similitudes. And it is not so ignominious for *Cæsar* to be painted in the similitude of an Ass, or of the worst Monster in the Sculptures of *Licetus*, as for God to be represented in the pretended likeness of his Deity, by *David* or *Solomon*. Such Images, therefore, the Council of *Trent* expresly disowneth, professing the spirituality, invisibility, and infinity of God, which nothing visible can represent. By such Images (as rightly (*b*) S. *Athanasius*) the mean Arts of the Painter and Statuary are exalted above the Maker of this beautiful Universe. Remarkable, here, is that of *Pliny*, as the sense of a very Atheist. "It is a weakness (said he) to search "after the Effigies or Form of God (*c*). Whoever is "God (if there be any other than Nature) he is "every-where, all sense, all sight, all hearing, all soul, "all spirit, All Himself.

a *See Pign. de Magn. Deûm. Matr.* &c. p. 1.

b *S. Athan. Vol.* 1. *op* p. 15.

c *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 2, 3.

By Images of Presence, I mean Pictures or Statues fram'd and honour'd as places of the especial residence and nighness of the Divine Power. Such I have shew'd the Statues of the Heathen to be. I know not whether they judg'd them to resemble *Jupiter* or *Juno*, *Mars* or *Venus* (for the resemblance has been generally such as pleas'd the Statuary or Painter): but it is certain that they esteem'd them *Shechinah's* of God, or Dæmons. The Poet (*d*) describeth the *Roman* Empire as forsaken by its Cœlestial Patrons, when he representeth them flying from their Altars and Temples. And the *Ambrachienses* (in *Livy* (*e*)) complaining in the

d *Excessere Omnes adytis arisq; relictis, Dii quibus Imperium hoc steterat*——

e *Tit. Liv. Hist.* l. 38. *See Herald. Annot. ad Arnob.* l. 6. p. 252.

Senate againſt *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had ſpoil'd their Temples and Images; proteſt with lamentation, That they had no Gods left them whom they might adore, and to whom they might preſent their requeſts. And the Oracle at *Delphos* confeſs'd to *Auguſtus*, That it was a vain thing for any thenceforth to repair thither, becauſe (*a*) an *Hebrew* Child had commanded the Dæmon back to Hell. And ſometimes in their ſuperſtitious folly, they chain'd down their Statues, that their gods might not remove.

a *Puer Hebræus—— Cedere ſede jubet—— Aris ergo dehinc Tacitus diſcedito noſtris.*

Now ſuch Images are condemned by S. *Paul*, who, by telling the Gentiles, that God dwelt not in Temples made with hands; did both intimate that they thought them his Manſion-houſes, and plainly reprove their erroneous practice.

The making of ſuch Houſes or Statues of Preſence to the Infinite Godhead, which filleth all things, and operateth when and where it pleaſeth (*b*), is an high preſumption; a confinement of the Deity, or his operation, by our will and fancy. Wherefore the worſhip of them, being the worſhip of an object for Gods *Shechinah*, which is not his *Shechinah*, is idolatrous, or a robbing of the Creator, by paying homage to the Creature.

b *See Arnob. l. 6. p. 203, 204.*

Of the like Idolatry are they guilty, who pretend to ſome kinds of natural Magic. They think God has put certain ſignatures on his creatures, or ſuffer'd ſuch to be put on them by Art, as tokens of his miraculous operation by them. Thus did the Author of that Book which the credulous *Camillus* (*c*) believeth to be *Solomons*. He thought that a ſtone, with the figure of a man ſitting on a Plough with a little neck, and long beard, with four men lying in his neck, and a Fox in one hand, and a Vultur in another; being hanged about ones neck, would be efficacious to the fruitfulneſs

c *Camill. Leonardus de Lapid. l. 3. c. 17. p. 223.*

of Plantations, and the finding of Treaſures. Now by what other name can we truly call that Truſt he placed in ſuch Figures, than that of Superſtitious and Idolatrous Hope, whilſt God was no more preſent at them, than at the moſt formleſs ſtone in the ſtreets, unleſs by his Malediction?

And Proteſtants have a ſuſpition of ſome ſuch Truſt (though not put in an Image of the Godhead, forbidden at *Trent*) yet put in the creatures conſecrated in the *Roman* Church; whilſt they ſet them apart in ſuch forms as this: *Bleſs and ſanctifie this creature, that by it* [that is, ſure, by thy virtue in it] *Devils may repell'd, and Tempeſts ſcatter'd.* *Sit Benid. Cruc. Sal. Aqu. Alt. portat. &c.*

CHAP. XII.

Of the Idolatry charged on the Papiſts in the worſhip of Images.

PART. I.

Of the worſhip of the Image of Chriſt.

THUS much, then, of the Image of the Godhead, or of God the Father and its worſhip. I paſs to the conſideration of an Image, the making and veneration of which, admitteth of more apology, That of the Word Incarnate.

This Image has been made, ſometimes by way of Analogy, and ſometimes by way of Repreſentation. An Analogical Picture of Chriſt was made by *Paulinus*, who caus'd him to be figur'd in the form of a Lamb, as a type of his meek and innocent ſufferings. A Picture harmleſs in it ſelf, as the creature whence 'twas taken; yet apt to beget, in weak and fooliſh minds, not the meer notion of Chriſts humility and innocence, but a phantaſm of him in the form of a beaſt. Wherefore, though this way of painting Chriſt was moſt uſual before the ſixth Synod, or third Council of *Conſtantinople*; yet the Fathers of that Council ſaw reaſon to forbid it (*a*), and to require the Governours of the Church to take care for the future, that the Image of Chriſt might be expreſſed in human portraict.

And, in ſuch Form, ſome Pictures of Chriſt might have place in Churches in the Sixth or Seventh Centuries. But Statues, it may be, were not ſo ſoon received as Pictures; and it is manifeſt, that in the earlier times

(*a*) *Concil. 3. Conſt. in Can. 82. ap. Conc. Quiniſext p. 1177. vol. 5. C. Max. See Conſult. Caſſ. de Imag. &c. p. 165. and Taraſ. in Syn. Nic. 2 p. 165. Act. 3. C. D.*

times of St. *Auſtin*, they were no part of the Inventory of the Church. For after this manner it is that he argueth againſt the Heathens, where he Commenteth on thoſe words of *David*, *The Idols of the Gentiles are "ſilver and gold the work of mens hands.* "They (ſaith "he) worſhip that which themſelves made of Gold "and Silver. For our ſelves we indeed have many U- "tenſils of this matter or metal which we uſe in the "celebration of the holy Sacraments. And being con- "ſecrated, they are called holy in honour of him, whom "to our ſouls health we ſerve by them. And we muſt "confeſs theſe inſtruments or veſſels are the work of "mens hands; but have they mouths and ſpeak not, "eyes and ſee not? do we pray to them; though in "the uſe of them we ſupplicate God?

However, ſeeing Chriſt was made in the form of a man, I know not why that form which appeared to the eye might not be painted by St. *Luke* himſelf without any immoral ſtain to his Pencil. He that found no fault with the Image of *Cæſar* ſtamped on his Coin, hath ſaid nothing which forbiddeth his own repreſentation; with reſpect, I mean, to his ſtate of manhood here on earth. For that is not pretended to be the picture or image of God-man, any more than the image of any of the *Cæſars*, is pretended to be the picture of their ſouls; but it is the external reſemblance of ſo much of his perſon as was viſible in fleſh.

The Controverſie then is not ſo much about the making as about the worſhipping of the Image of Chriſt, either as his Image in his ſtate on earth, or which ſeemeth very abſurd, as his portraict now in Glory. For though the ſigns of his Paſſion may prepare us for Prayers, yet the addreſſes themſelves are made to him as he is glorious in the Heavens, where his eſtate is unduly typified by a Crucifix which repreſenteth

ſenteth him in *Golgotha*, and not in triumph at Gods right hand, where his brightneſs cannot be expreſſed by a pencil of light it ſelf; though one very lately reviving the error of the *Manichees*, hath made the Sun, his Throne, and the right hand of God *.

* *R. O Mans Mortality. Amſtrd.* 1643. p. 33, 34. Without doubt Chriſt muſt be in the moſt excellent, glorious, and heavenly part of [Heaven] which is the Sun. —— Fitly may that be called the Right-hand of God, by which through Chriſt in him we live, & move, and have our being, &c.

The Crucifix was made of old, and admitted into private houſes, and at laſt into Churches. But it was firſt uſed as a Picture for the help of memory, not as a ſtatue in formal place, on a Pedeſtal, at which it might be worſhipped. Hear in this matter St. *Gregory* the great, a man of ſome inſight into the practice of the Church. This is part of his Letter to *Secundinus* (*a*).

a *Greg. Mag.* l. 7. Ep. 53.

" We have ſent to you Images,—and we do not amiſs, " if by viſible things we repreſent things not ſeen.—— " I am perſwaded that you deſire not the image of " Chriſt with intent to worſhip it as a God, but that " by remembrance of the Son of God, you may be " more warmed in his love whoſe image you think you " look upon. And for our ſelves, we are not proſtrate " before it as before a God, but we worſhip him whom " we call to mind by his Image, not as born or crucifi- " ed, but as ſitting on his Throne. And whilſt the " Picture, like a writing, brings to our memory the " Son of God, it either rejoyceth our mind with the " Reſurrection of Chriſt, or aſſwageth it by his " Paſſion.

b *S. Greg. M.* Ep. 109.

The ſame St. *Gregory* (*b*), when *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeille*, had in an holy zeal broken thoſe Images which he ſaw adored, " does wiſh he had not broken " them, but that preventing the worſhip of them, he " had ſtill retained them as Hiſtorical Monuments " helpful to the memories of the vulgar. I am not a- gainſt any thing which may be ſerviceable as an help to devotion. Men ſtand enough in need. But there are better helps by far than theſe: And in the Church which

which is the houſe of oral and living inſtruction, they ſerve not much further than for ornament, unleſs the Lay-people come and view them attentively before the beginning of publick ſervice. After that, the Objects which cauſe the eye to gaze, prevent too much the attention of the ear. And yet to ſay with men who run into extremes, that Devotional Pictures are no helps to excite memory and paſſion, is to forget that they are called mute Poems; to ſpeak againſt common ſenſe; and to impute leſs to a Crucifix than to the Tomb of our friend, or to a thread on our finger. They may be uſeful as Monitors in a Chriſtian Commonwealth where their worſhip is plainly and frequently forbidden, and by all underſtood to be ſo prohibited. And it was high ſuperſtition in thoſe who in our late unhappy Revolutions, defaced ſuch Pictures and brake down ſuch Croſſes as Authority had ſuffered to remain entire, whilſt it forbad the worſhip of them; and was in that particular ſo well obeyed that none of them (it may be) ever knew one man of the Communion of the Church of *England* to have been proſtrate before a Croſs, and in that poſture to have ſpoken to it.

In the Church of *Rome* there is greater pretence for that violence which vulgar Reformers preſume to be holy. For the Council of *Trent* retaineth Images in Churches, as Objects of Veneration, and the practice both of Prieſts and people does ſtrangely dilate the words of that Council. The Article of the Creed of *Trent* is this: "I moſt firmly (*a*) profeſs, that the Ima- "ges of Chriſt, and of the Mother of God, always a "Virgin, as alſo thoſe of other Saints are to be had "and retained [eſpecially in Churches (*b*)]: and that "due honour and veneration is to be given to "them.

a *Conc. Trid. Symb.* p 944.

b *Decret. Conc. Trid. de Invoc. &c.* p 895.

Due

Due honour and veneration are in themſelves modeſt words: and where we admit the Pictures and Images of Chriſt, we refuſe not the honour which is due to them. We do not chuſe to put them in vile places, we do not uſe them in vile offices; we eſteem them as ornaments; we value them as the Images of perſons more honourable than our Prince or our Friend: We uſe them as Remembrancers of the great myſtery of mans Redemption which we cannot too frequently be reminded of. We condemn the indiſcreet zeal of our late pretended Reformers, who judged him worthy ſequeſtration who "had kept a Picture of Chriſt in his "Parlour, and confeſſed it was to put him in mind of "his Saviour *.

* *Cent.* 1: of *Scand. Min.* Sect. 82. p. 38.

We honour ſuch Pictures in a negative ſenſe, by being unwilling to have them contemned. We think them not fit to be placed in the Pavements of Churches, where (as St. *Bernard* in his Apology to *Guilielmus Abbas* complaineth) they are trodden under foot. Where people ſpit into the mouth of the Image of an Angel, and tear the face of the Image of a Saint, with their clouted ſhoon. We obſerve and commend the diſcretion of many *Romiſh* Synods, ſince that of *Trent* (*c*), which have made Laws againſt laſcivious, improper, fabulous, abſurd Images. We inveigh not againſt the firſt Council of *Milan* (*d*) for requiring the Ordinary to ſummon Statuaries, Engravers and Painters; and to require them to uſe their art to the dignity of the Prototype. We condemn thoſe Zealots among the *Albigenſes* (if ſuch there were) who are ſaid, in ſcorn, to have framed deformed Images, and to have diſhonoured the Virgin in a monſtrous ſtatue with one eye (*e*). The zeal of the Church of *England* has been much more temperate and diſcreet, and ſo (God be thanked) it continues at this day. It is not rude to any thing ſet apart

c *Concil. Mechlin.* p. 801. *Turon.* p. 1019. *Maxic.* p. 1297. *Toloſ.* p. 1400. *Avin.* p. 1450. *Mechl.* p. 1556. *Narbon.* p. 1581. d *Conc. Milev.* 1. p. 251.

e *Lucas Tudenſis* l. 2. *cont. Albig.* c. 9. & *Cornil. Curtius de Clavis Domin.* c. 5. p. 75.

apart for Gods ſervice: it would not have a conſecrated Chalice quaffed in as a common Bowl; it abhorreth the memory of *Julian* Prefect of the Eaſt, and Uncle to the Apoſtate, who ſhewed his irreverence towards the Euchariſt, by ſpurning and ſitting upon the Communion-Plate of the great Church of *Antioch*.

But the Council of *Trent* ſeemeth to mean ſomething more than all this, by its *due honour and veneration*. It doth not indeed mean abſolute *Latria*, or direct Divine honour to be exhibited to the Image it ſelf. It hath otherwiſe explained it ſelf; and it condemneth ſuch worſhip of them. It would not have the people "believe (*a*) that there is any Divinity in "them, or virtue for which they ſhould be worſhip-"ped; or that any thing is to be asked of them; or "that truſt is to be put in Images after the manner of "the Gentiles. A like caution is given by the Synod of *Cambray* (*b*). "Let the people be taught, ſaith a "Decree of that Synod, that there is no worſhip due "to the Image, either for the matter, or the beauty, "or the price and value of its work, or for any other "thing which may be in the Artifice or ſubſtance of "the Image, but to the thing ſignified to which this "worſhip and honour is eſpecially referred. In like "manner they are to be admoniſhed, that the mind of "the perſon that prayeth, or worſhippeth, is to be "carried to the thing ſignified, and not to the ſign "which neither hears, nor ſees, nor perceives.

a *Conc. Trid. Decret. de Invoc. &c.* p. 895.

b *Concil. Camer. de Imag.* c. 3. p. 178.

And ſome of the Church of *Rome* do purſue this caution in their Manuals of inſtruction which they give to the people. And it would be very ſtrange if they ſhould herein have been defective; ſeeing the very Heathens were not. "We worſhip not (ſaid they) "the very Images themſelves (*c*), but thoſe whom "they repreſent, and to whoſe names they are ſacred.

c *Laſt. l. 2. Div. Inſtit. c. 2. p. 141.* See *Arnob. l. 6. p. 203. Non (inquiunt) materiae Aeri, Auri, &c. put ſi Dios eſſet, &c. ſed eos in his colimus, &c.*

H. T. in his Manual called the *Abridgment of Chriſtian Doctrine*, propoſeth this Queſtion (*d*) to his Diſciple: Is it lawful to give any honour to the Images of Chriſt and his Saints? And then he teacheth him to make this Anſwer: "Yes; an inferior or relative honour, "inaſmuch as they repreſent unto us heavenly things; "but yet not Gods honour, nor yet the honour due "to his Saints.

d *H.T.* Abridg. of Chriſtian Doctr. in Expoſ. of the 1. Command. p. 118, 119.

The ſame Author a while after, propoundeth this Query: "Do not Catholicks pray to Images and Re-"licks? And then to this he anſwereth: No, by no "means: We pray before them indeed, (to keep us "from diſtraction, and to help our memories in the "expreſſion and apprehenſion of Gœleſtial things) but "not to them; for we know well that they can nei-"ther ſee, nor hear, nor help us.

There is ſome meaſure of ſobriety in theſe words; but ſome other of their writers ought to have had their Pens removed from them, with as much reaſon as we take away the ſwords of madmen. Amongſt them I reckon *Cornelius Curtius* the *Auguſtinian*. This *Romaniſt* thus ſpendeth ſome of the heat of his zeal (*a*). "I "care not at all for *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Wickliff*, and that "moſt filthy *Magdeburgian* ſink of impudence and blaſ-"phemy. I ſay it, and ſay it again, that the moſt ſacred "Nails of our Redeemer do merit worſhip, even the "higheſt worſhip.

a *Curtius de Clavis Domin.* c. 12. p. 130, 131.
b *De Lingend.* vol. 3. *Conc. de dolor. Chriſti.* p. 627. —— *Flagitemus auxilium è cœlo, & ſanctam Crucem adoremus.* O Crux Ave.

But we have heard better things from the Council of *Trent*, and ſome who follow it. And by ſuch declarations their Church denieth to the Image it ſelf the worſhip of the heart in Prayer, Thankſgiving and truſt; and teacheth us to interpret the Forms uſed in their Letter to them, as not to them directed (*b*). Such a Form is that of, *Hail* (c) *holy Croſs, our only hope—— the ſcepter of the Son,——the Bed of Grace.——Increaſe*

c *In Brev. Rom. infra Hebd. Quart. Quadr.* p. 317. And in the Litany of the Croſs. p. 100, &c. *Ed. Pariſ.* 1642.

righte-

righteousness in the pious, and to the guilty vouchsafe pardon. All this it seems, howsoever it soundeth, must be meant not to the very matter and form of the Cross, which * Dr. *Bilson* will have to be adored in the Church of *Rome*, but only to Christ crucified. And this also I suppose they would suggest by the Cross pictured in their Books of Devotion, and particularly in the front of their Missal of *Paris* (*c*), together with these words of the Apostle, *God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord.* Where St. *Paul* intended not to magnifie the wood of the Cross, but the Sacrifice upon it. And this way of speaking used by the Apostle is followed in our Litany, in which we desire of Christ deliverance by his Cross, explaining it by his Passion.

But still there are outward signs of Veneration given to the Image it self for Christs sake; not indeed as brass, or silver, or gold, or wood, or stone, or as a piece of excellent Art; but yet as it relates to him, and is his image. Given however they are to the image, though they are ultimately referred to Christ. Due honour, saith (*d*) the Council of *Trent*, is to be given to *them*, —— and the honour which is given to *them* is referred to the *Prototypes*. "We Christians (said *Leontius* in the Synod (*e*) of *Nice*) adoring the figure of "the Cross, honour not the nature of the wood, but "the sign, and ring, and image of Christ. And again, "(*f*) he that feareth God honoureth and adoreth "Christ as the Son of God, and the figure of his Cross, "and the images of his Saints. In Images (saith (*g*) the Synod of *Bourges*) we worship not the matter, but him that was represented. As if it were one Act, and the Image were worshipped together with Christs Godhead, as is the Humanity, by reason of its Personal union with it. They that speak thus, have deprived themselves of the usual Evasion that the Church of

* Dr. *Bilson* of the full Redempt. of mankind by Christs death, *pag.* 4. The Church of *Rome* hath wedded a great part of her Devotion to the Cross of Christ; but under that name she adoreth the matter and form of the Cross.

c *Miss. Rom. Par.* 1660.

d *Conc. Trid. Decr. de Invoc. &c.* p. 895. & *Leont. in Syn. Nic.* 2. p. 243. B. —— τιμὴ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατρέχει.

e *Leont. in Syn. Nic.* 2. *Act.* 4. p. 235, 236. —— τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ προσκυνοῦντες. ——

f *Id. ibid.* p. 245.

Rome owneth one God only, and therefore cannot by her own principle, worſhip an Image with abſolute *Latria*: For in the worſhip of that one God, or the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, God-man, they take in the worſhip of the Image or Relick, as of a body made one with him. To that effect there are dangerous ſayings in the ſecond Synod of *Nice*, related by *Photius*. It was there ſaid by *Adrian* from *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Conſtantia* in *Cyprus*, that a King having his Statue or Image is not preſently two Kings, but one together with his image *. It was there affirmed (though not particularly, and in thoſe words decreed) "That by the "worſhip of Images (*a*), which ſeems divided, we are "carried up undividedly unto the indiviſible Deity. "And again, that in ſuch worſhip (*b*), we are carried "up into a certain unitive and conjunctive viſion. As if we adhered to God by clinging with devout embraces to an Image made by humane Art. Yet this in effect is ſaid by many of their Doctors, who tell us that *Latria* is given to the Image not abſolutely, but relatively, not by it ſelf (*c*) but by accident, as they are conſidered in conjunction with the Prototype, and making one thing with it. *Suarez* himſelf (*d*) is one of theſe raſh men, and affirmeth "that the Prototype in the "Image, and the Image for the Prototype may be ado-"red with one interior and exterior Act. But amongſt the Honourers of Images and Relicks, there are not many ſure who fly higher in their devotion than *Cornelius Curtius*. He does not ſay things we hear every day, and therefore let us liſten to him a while in this preſent Argument. "Let us now ſee (ſaith that Idoli-"zer of the Nails of the Croſs (*e*)) what kind of Ve-"neration we owe to theſe Nails: Divines diſtinguiſh "three kinds of Worſhips which are wont to be ex-"preſſed by the *Greek* words of *Latria*, *Hyperdulia*, "and

* Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 261, 262. There the Image ſays to the King, ἐγὼ ἐν ἐκείνῃ εἰμὶ, κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμοὶ, &c.

a — Διὰ τῆς φαινομένης διαιρέσεως ἡ μετοχὴ τῶν θεαρχικῶν καὶ περιουσιαστικῶν ἑνοποιεῖται τε καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως εἰς τὸν ἀμέσιον ἐκείνην ἕνωσίν τε καὶ ἑνοποιὸν θεότητα ἀναγόμεθα.

b Καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτῶν εἰς ἑνοποιόν τινα καὶ συναγωγὸν ἀναγόμεθα θεωρίαν, &c.

c See *Le Blanc's Theſis. Th. de Ec. Ro. Doct. circa cult. Imag.* p. 342.

d *Tom. 3. in 3. Thom. diſp.* 54. Sect. 3.

e *Corn. Curtius de Clovis Domin.* c. 12. p. 133, 134, 135. *Ed. Antv.* 1670.

" and *Dulia*; which becauſe they terminate either in " God, or in intelligent natures, therefore none of " theſe do properly belong to the Nails, as being things " without life or reaſon, and conſequently not capa- " ble of ſuch worſhips. Wherefore to ſpeak to them as " ſuch, and to ask any thing of them, would be a ſign " of madneſs and ſuperſtition. So all Catholicks unani- " mouſly conclude (*f*). Notwithſtanding this, becauſe " we may, and we uſually do adjoin the Nails to Chriſt " in our cogitation (*g*), hence it comes to paſs that by " reaſon of this connexion, we may give them a cer- " tain right [or direct] worſhip: for if we contem- " plate his Humanity, we then give to the Nails the " worſhip of *Hyperdulia:* If we think of his Divinity, " we owe to them the Honour of *Latria.* But for *Du-* " *lia* we bid it keep its diſtance, as being leſs worthy. " Neither ought it to ſeem a wonder to any man, that " we give that Honour to Iron, which we acknowledg " to be proper to God alone; for this is not given to " this metal in reſpect of its nature, but in regard of " the perſon by whoſe contact [or union into oneneſs " of object] it deſervedly obtaineth that high honour. This is ſtrange language from the Provincial for *Bel-* *gium:* But the Fathers of *Trent* ſpake more modeſt- ly, and we will take their words into further conſide- ration. They allow external ſigns of worſhip both be- fore, and to an Image. The external ſigns mentioned by them (*a*), are ſaluting, uncovering the Head, kneeling, bowing or proſtration. And the Synod of *Cambray* teacheth (*b*) " that the external ſigns of that " Honour, Worſhip, and Invocation which they refer " to the thing ſignified, ſuch as are bending of the " knee, and other ſigns of the like kind, are given " rightly to Images. And it would not have this ſeem " abſurd or impious to any man, whilſt by the ſigns " they worſhip the Prototypes. This

f Here he cites *D. Thom.* 22. *q.*91. *a.*3, *&c.*

g Here he ſays *vide Concil. Trid. Seſſ.* 25.

a *Concil. Trid. Seſſ.*25. p.895. —*Imag. quas oſculamur, & coram quibus caput aperimus, & procumbi- mus*, &c.

b *Concil. Camer. de Imag.* c.1. p.177.

This declaration of honouring the Image it ſelf Mr. *Thorndike* taxeth (*c*) as an idle thing; he might alſo have proceeded, and called it perillous, and a means of ſcandal. For the external honour of Chriſt is his honour, though not the only honour which is due to him: And ſometimes Hypocrites promote his Honour in the world by the meer ſhews of it; and ſometimes men blindly devout, betray it by exhibiting the ſignes of it where they are not due.

c Juſt weights and meaſures. *c.* 19. *p.* 128.

It is true, that ſalutation is both a Civil and a Religious ceremony. *Cæcilius* in *Minutius Felix*, pointing to the Image of *Serapis*, kiſſed his hand, in token of his devotion to that Idol. And the *Romans* were wont, when they complemented one another, firſt to reach forth their hand, and then drawing it up to their mouth, to kiſs it, and this was called, adoring, and venerating of them. So *Tacitus* ſaies of *Otho* (*d*) that he ſtretched out his hand and adored the people, and threw his Kiſſes among them: And of *Nero*, that he worſhipped or venerated the Aſſemblie with his hand. Alſo Bowing, Kneeling, Proſtration are equivocal ſignes: and as we uſe them towards God, ſo we do the like towards Princes, and before their empty Chairs of State. Before them, I ſay, for to bow to them, though it be not Idolatry, yet it is a debaſement of our reaſonable perſons. For that external ſign is the ſign of an homage not due to them, but to the abſent Prince of whom they put us in mind: and the Ceremonie interprets and declares that inward homage and ſubmiſſion to them whoſe Chairs they are.

d *Tac. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 36. *Nec deerat Otho protendens manus, adorare vulgum, jacere Oſcula*, &c. And elſewhere of *Nero*. — *Cœtum* — *manu veneratus eſt.*

Now, though ſuch ſignes are thus equivocal, yet they are ſo determined, by their Objects, and Circumſtances, to their particular ſenſe; that a weak capacity can ſcarce commit an error in their interpretation. He that ſees a Croſs made by a Shepherd on one of his Sheep,

Sheep, does not think it ſignifies alike with the Croſs impreſſion which a Prieſt, or metaphorical Shepheard, makes at the Holy Font on the Forehead of a Child whom he hath juſt incorporated into his Flock. He that ſees another ſaluting him by pulling off his Hat, and bowing, and crying, *God ſave you*; cannot think he is, thereby, made a God or an Idol; but he interprets all this as a ſign of reſpect according to the uſage of his Country. But if he ſees a ſecond *James Naylor* riding on an Aſs in triumph into *Briſtol*, and hears the women cry *Hoſannah*, and ſees them bow their knees; he hath cauſe to believe that they are both mad and idolatrous: ſo much there is of Idolatry, in that which the Quakers judged Religion; and ſo little of it in that civility which they think is irreligion, and the worſhip of the creature.

He thas ſees an Artiſt in the Shop of a Statuary, kneeling before the Image of *Hercules*, and finiſhing his Foot, will look upon him as a man employed in his mechanical Trade. But if he finds him in a Church, at the hours of Prayer, kneeling, or proſtrate, with uncovered Head, with Beads in his Hands, and Tears in his Eyes, and Kiſſes from his Mouth, at the Pedeſtal of a Crucifix, or of an Image of Chriſt; [an Image ſet up for that uſe; an Image conſecrated (*a*), and perfumed with conſecrated Incenſe; and rendred illuſtrious with conſecrated Tapers (*b*);] he will not then think him at his ordinary work, but at his earneſt devotion.

a *Rit. Rom. p.* 244, 245. *Concil. Bitur. Tit.* 11, *Can.* 2. *p.* 1080.

b *Miſſal. Rom. in Sanc. Sabb. p.* 187, &c.

Now it may here be properly demanded of a Romaniſt, whether the ſign of bowing, kneeling, or proſtration, be exhibited to the Image alone, to God alone, or to both of them? and if to both, whether in equal or unequal degrees?

It cannot be ſaid that it is done only to the Image, as

as a ſign of civil reſpect, and not to God, becauſe the man is exerciſing himſelf in ſuch devotions as have God only (the Romaniſts confeſſing it) for their ultimate Object. He is at his Prayers to God, or ſome perſon in the Trinity; and kneeling, or bowing at ſuch a time is as much the external part of worſhip, as the ſubmiſſion of the mind is the part internal.

It cannot be ſaid by a true *Romaniſt*, to be done to God only, becauſe the Great Synod, and the Rituals of that Church, declare ſuch external Ceremonies to be addreſſes to the very Images as Images of Chriſt. Such Ceremonies the Synod of *Nice* ſeemeth generally to mean, when it preſſeth the προσκύνησις, worſhip or adoration of Images, *i. e.* the veneration of the body of which men only can take cognizance. Such veneration the Council of *Trent* (as hath appeared already) doth give by her decree, to the very Images, with regard to their divine Relation, though not in reſpect to their matter or form. The Miſſal commands the Prieſt, after having fixed the Croſs in a place prepared for it before the Altar (*a*) to pull off his Shoos and adore the Croſs, [that is, not *orare ad* (the old derivation of *adorare*) to pray to it, for it preſcribes no form there, but to bow to it], and then to kiſs it. The Pontifical indeed, ſpeaketh ſometimes of worſhipping before an Image (*b*); but, in other places, it requireth the worſhip of it. For ſo, in the benediction of a new Croſs (*c*), the Biſhop is required, once and again, to bow his Knees before it and to adore it devoutly. Nay, once (*d*) it declareth that the worſhip *Latria* is due to the Croſs.

It cannot be ſaid by a Romaniſt, who regardeth his Creed, that this external addreſs is made to Chriſt and his Image in equal degree; for that were to give Honour properly Divine unto a Creature; a ſign of Honour

a *Miſſ. Rom. Friis 6. in Paraſc p.* 182.
b *Pont. Rom. Lug.* 1542. *part.* 2. *p.* 166. *in Bened. Imag. Sanct.* — *& preſta ut quicunque coram illâ ipſum glorioſiſſimum Apoſtolum tuum, vel martyrum, vel confeſſorum,* &c.
c *Pontif.* fol. 164, 165. *Tum Pontifex, flexis, ante crucem, genibus, ipſam devotè adrat,* &c.
d *Pontif. part.* 3. fol. 204. *Ord. ad recip. proceſſ. Imperat.* — *Crux. Legati, quod debetur ei Latriæ, nitidâ dextrâ.*

nour being Honour: An Act of acknowledgement in our ſelves, and a means of procuring it amongſt other perſons.

They muſt then ſay, if they will ſpeak with ſhew of conſiſtence, that the mind doth apply the act of incurvation to the Image as a ſign of inferior honour, and to Chriſt as a ſign of that honour which is ſupream. That the Caſe is like to that of *Naaman* before his converſion unto *Judaiſm:* for then he worſhipped the Idol of *Rimmon* with religious worſhip, and yet by the ſame act of external adoration or bowing, he did teſtifie his civil reſpect to his Maſter that leaned on him. But their worſhip is not ſo circumſtantiated as that of *Naaman's*. He doubtleſs did ſome other homage ſeparately from his Maſter, to ſhew his ſuppoſed Religion: and they have none leaning on them, (unleſs by accident;) by complement to whom they may interpret the ſign, in part, of a civil reſpect.

But how doth one external ſign ſplit, in each ſingle exhibition of it, into two ſignifications, appear to ſignifie doubly, to the common ſpectators? That no miſtake may be committed, the *Roman* Aſſemblies had need be ſo many Conventions of great Clerks and wiſe Schoolmen. But, in all Aſſemblies, how few are good Judges? And how many Spies are there Jewiſh, and Mahometan, and Heathen, to whom it is morally impoſſible to know their diſtinctions? And how many of the ſame Communion have groſs and ſtupid minds and devotions begotten of ignorance? And what uncharitableneſs is it to make a Ditch in the daily walks of the Blind, and the Weak, and the inadvertent? and what a ſcandal is this in *India*, or *China*, where the Geſtures are ſeen, and the Books that explain them are not underſtood or handled by one of a thouſand? And where their own worſhip of

Images maketh them think the Chriſtians not far from their Religion?

They who uſe Images in their devotions, and are as diſcreet in their devotions as that uſage will give them leave; theſe profeſs that they bow not to the Image at all, but only to God before it [for thus S. *Gregory*, *Durandus*, *Halcot*, *Biel* ſeem to profeſs]. And it is honour enough to the Image, that our devotion is on choice, done at the foot of it. They ought to profeſs that when they kiſs the Image, though the external ſign of worſhip toucheth it and adheres to it, yet it doth not ſo adhere to it in the quality of an object which it terminateth on, but as a kind of reſting-place in the way, whilſt it cannot reach its journeys-end by the body, but by the mind only. That being moved by holy paſſion towards the bleſſed Jeſus, they ſalute the Image of Chriſt, not being able to reach his perſon: and they may illuſtrate their meaning by the wiſh of *Thomaſinus*, who paſſionately breaketh into this language (*a*); "O that there were any man to "whom I might be beholding for the Images of *Moli-* "*nus* and *Pignorius*, men to be by me eternally ho- "noured; that I might kiſs the Portraict of thoſe "whom I cannot embrace in perſon. They may fur- ther thus far apologize for the Heathens, and ſay, that when they worſhipped the Sun by the kiſſing of their hand, they did not ſo much kiſs their hand as the pre- ſumed deity whom they could not reach. They may add, that when they kiſs the Image of the Son, they exhibit this Ceremonie, not only as an effect, but as a ſign of their love to him. For ſo a man that kiſſeth the Hemm of a Garment, does in truth, but touch the Hemm, and offer it as it is a ſign of obſervance unto the perſon. The materiality of the Act reacheth the Image, the formality the Prototype.

(*a*) *Thomaſ. de vitâ, Bibliothecâ, & Muſeo Laur. Pignorii. p.* 82.

In

In *England*, in the days of *Henry* the Seventh, ſome *Romaniſts* ſpake not ſo raſhly as *Bellarmine*, who without neceſſity impoſed on him by the Decree of *Trent*, aſſerted a proper veneration of Images (*b*), as objects terminating that worſhip in themſelves, and not as ſuſtaining the place of the Prototype. Amongſt them I find an ancient Author who hath written in Folio an Expoſition of the Ten Commandments in the way of a Dialogue betwixt *Dives* and *Pauper*. And becauſe he ſpeaks ſoberly in this Argument, and is not in many hands, I will here tranſcribe ſome places out of him (*a*).

b *Bell. de Eccl. Triumph. l. 2. c. 21. See Spal. de Rep. Eccl. l. 7. c. 12. p. 294, &c. where he refutes the Arg. of Bell. for the Rel. worſhip of Images.*

a *Firſt precept, chap. 1.*

" *Dives.* Whereof ſerve theſe Ymages, I wolde they " were brent alle. *Pauper.* They ſerve for thre thynges; " for they be ordeyned to ſtere mannys mynd to thynke " on criſtes incarnation, and on his paſſion and on his " lyvinge, and on other ſeintes lyvinge. Alſo they ben " ordeyned to ſtyre mans affection, and his herte to de- " vocion. For ofte man is more ſteryd by ſight than be " herynge or redynge. Alſo they be ordeyned to be a " token and a boke to the leude peple, that they may " reade in Ymagery and painture, that Clerkes rede in " in the Boke, as the Lawe ſayth. *de conſecra. diſtinct.* " 3. *prolatum.* where we fynde that a biſhop de- " ſtroied Ymages as thou woldeſt do, and forfendyd " that no man ſhuld worſhip ymages. He was accuſed " to the Pope Seynt *Gregory*, which blamyd him gretely " for that he had ſo diſtroyed the ymages; but utterly " he priſed him for he forfendyd them to worſhyp " ymages.

" The 2. chaptre.

" *Dives.* How ſhuld I rede in the boke of paynture, " and of ymagery. *Pauper.* whanne thou ſeeſt the " ymage of the Crucifixe, thynk on him that died on " the crbſſe for thy ſynne——Take hede by the ymage " howe his hede was crowned with a garlonde of

" thornes——Take hede by the ymage how his armes
" were ſpradde abrode——in token that he is redy to
" halſe and clyppe the, &c. on this maner I pray the
" rede thy Boke and falle down to grounde, and thanke
" thy God that wolde do ſo moche for the; and wor-
" ſhyp above al thynge, *nat the ymage*, nat the ſtock,
" ſtone, ne tree, but him that dyed on the tree, for thy
" ſynne and thy ſake. So that thou knele if thou wylt
" *before the ymage. nat to the ymage.* make thy prayer
" before the ymage. but nat to the ymage. for it ſeeth
" the nat, herythe the nat. underſtondeth the nat.
" make thyn offrynge if thou wilt before the ymage,
" but nat to th' ymage. make thy pilgramage, nat to
" the ymage, ne for the ymage. for it may nat help the,
" but to him and for him that the ymage repreſenteth
" to the. *For if thou doo it for the ymage, or to the*
" *ymage, thou doſte ydolatry.*

" The 3. chaptre.

" *Dives.* me thynkith that whanne men knele before
" the ymage, pray and loke on the ymage, with weep-
" yng teres, bunche or knock their breſtys, with other
" ſuch countynaunce, they do al this to the ymage, and
" ſo wenyth moche peple. *Pauper.* If they doo it to
" the ymage, they ſynne gretly in ydolatry agenſt rea-
" ſone and kynde——*Dives.* how might they do
" alle before the ymage, and not worſhyp the ymage.
" *Pauper.* Oft thou ſeeſt that the Preeſt in the Chirch
" hath his boke before him. he knelyth he, ſtareth, he
" loketh on his boke, he holdeth up his hondes, And
" for devocion in caſe he wepith, and maketh devout
" prayers; to whom wenyſte thou the Preeſt doth alle
" this worſhip? *Dives.* To God and nat to the boke.
" [This inſtance, by the way, is not ſo proper: for
" the Book, though it relateth to Chriſt, is not an ob-
" ject which repreſenteth him; nor doth the Prieſt

ſpeak to it as he doth often to the Crucifix. And that's the next Objection of *Dives* in the fourth Chapter.

" *Dives.* On *Palm-Sunday* at Proceſſion the Preſt " draweth up the Veil before the Rode, and fallith " down to grounde with alle the people, and ſaith " thries, *Ave Rex noſter*, Hayle be thou oure Kynge, " and ſoo he worſhipeth that ymage as King. *Pauper.* " *Abſit.* God forbede. He ſpeketh not to the ymage, " that the Carpenter hath made, and the Peyntour " painted, but if the Priſte be a fole, for that ſtocke " or ſtoone was never Kynge, but he ſpeketh to him " that dyed on the Croce for us al, to him that is King " of alle thynge.

The xiii Chaptre.

Pauper. "The Lawe clepith ymages venerable and " worſhipful, for ther ſhuld no man diſpyſe them ne " defoul hem, brenne them ne breke them. *De Conſe-* " *crat. di iii Venerabiles*; and for this manner of Vene- " ration and worſhip, ſaith the Lawe in the ſame " place, *& ſumme doctoures*, that Ymages, Boke or " Veſtment, and Chalice, may be worſhipped with " *Dulia.* But they take that *Dulia* fulle largely, and " full unproperly, for ſuch worſhip and veneration is " ne ſervice, ne ſubjection, as I ſaid before.

For them who can inſtruct their minds, help their memories, excite their paſſions, and fix their fancy, by praying before an Image, they are at liberty to uſe ſuch helps in their private Cloſets. In publick let them conſider whether the ſcandal of others be not a greater evil than this kind of help can be a good. And to me it ſeemeth that what help ſoever it may be to diſpoſe and prepare us, yet in the very act of devotion, it is an impediment: for then we exerciſe the heart and mind rather than the eye and the imagination; which latter

latter when it hath an Idea of God-man, it apprehendeth him as in glory. And in this point *Thomas a Kempis* himſelf was not determined in his judgment; for in one place (*a*) he commendeth the uſe of a Crucifix in praying to God; and yet in another place (*b*) he preſcribeth a form of Prayer in which God Almighty is intreated to free the mind from bodily fantaſms. For St. *Auſtin*, "He thought that no body (*c*) could wor-"ſhip or pray with his eyes fixed on an Image, but he "muſt be ſo affected as to think it hears him, and will "give him the aid which he implores. He ſaith in ano-"ther place (*d*), that the figure of the parts of an hu-"mane body doth even extort this, that the ſoul which "lives in the body ſhall thereby be the apter to think "that body perceives which it ſees like to its own. "And that Images avail more to the bowing down of "the unhappy mind, in that they have a mouth, eyes, "ears, and feet; then to the correcting of it by their "not ſpeaking, ſeeing, hearing, or walking. *Bellar-*"*mine* himſelf confeſſeth (*e*) that they who adore God "in an Image or Creature, do expoſe themſelves to "great peril, and are compelled to uſe the moſt ſubtle "diſtinctions which the Learned ſcarce underſtand, "much leſs the vulgar.

Let them ſee to it who lay ſuch ſnares in the way of the people; whatſoever they intend, they may plainly foreſee that their feet will be taken in them; and that many thouſands have been ſo caught, they may know from Hiſtory and Experience. Moſt unhappy have been the conſequences of the ſecond Synod of *Nice*, which decreed the relative worſhipping or bowing down to Images (*f*): which by its Preſident *Tarrhaſius*, and its defender, *Adrian* the firſt, owned a Tranſition of the worſhip through the Image to the Prototype [like an arrow which firſt paſſeth actually through

a *Tho. à Kempis Oper.* p. 723.
b *Id. Oper.* p. 696. *Oratio ut liberetur mens à corporali Imagine.*
c *S. Aug. in* Pſal. 113. *Neminem* [*puto*] *Orare vel adorare ſic intuentem ſimulacra, qui non afficiatur*, &c.
d *S. Aug. in* Pſal 114. *Hoc facit & quodammodò extorquet illa figura membrorum*, &c.
e *Bellar. de Imag.* c. 22.
f *Zonar. in Can. Conc.* 7. p. 284. —πρὸς τὸν νοῦν διὰ χάριτος— ὃ σέβεσθαι.—

through the *Medium* e're it hitteth the mark]: and, which (in the opinion (*g*) of Mr. *Thorndike*) brought in and authorized Addreſſes to ſolitary Images of Saints. Since that time, Gods worſhip has been exceedingly depraved, and ſuch bold men as *Naclantus* Biſhop of *Clugium*, have openly declared that the ſame *Latria* or Divine honour is due to the Image which is due to the Prototype. And it hath been ſhewed a while ago that the Pontificale it ſelf affirmeth *Latria* to be due to the Croſs, without diſtinguiſhing of it into abſolute and relative. But I would not miſconſtrue one unadviſed paſſage as the conſtitution of the whole Church of *Rome*, and a condition of its communion; though I cannot but from the premiſſes conclude the danger of its communion, or the peril of Idolatry in it.

g Mr. *Thornd.* juſt Weights. c. 19. p. 127.

Further, there is another kind of Idolatry towards the Image of Chriſt, viſible in the practice of many *Romaniſts*, though not enforced by the Decrees of their Church. I mean that divers make it a Divine *Shechinah*, or Image in which Chriſt eminently dwells, and miraculouſly operates *. It was the cuſtom of *Aſclepiades* the Philoſopher (as in the 22*d*. Book of *Ammianus*, we are informed) to carry with him whitherſoever he journeyed, a little ſilver-Image of the Goddeſs *Cœleſtis*. 'Tis probable that he hoped amongſt other things, for the fairer weather; for ſhe was *Urania* the Goddeſs of the Clouds (*a*). And a late King of *France* is ſaid to have carried about with him, as his Cœleſtial Guardian, a Crucifix of Lead. If other *Roman* Catholicks wear it about their necks as a Remembrancer, and not as an Amulet; they have the greater protection from God for their removing a ſuperſtitious defenſative. And it is great pity that ſuch things ſhould be laid before the people as inſtruments of Inchantment, by the literal ſound at leaſt of the Ritual

* See the Enumer. of miracles done at Images, in order to the promoting of their worſhip in *Syn. Nicen.* 2. Act. 4. p. 249, &c. p. 251. *Sancta Synodus dixit, gloria Deo, quitium per ſacras Imagines miracula perficit.*

a See *Steph. Baluz. Not. ad Salvian.* 18. p. 410. and *Sulp. Severr. in V. D. Mart.* — *Quia eſſet hæc Gallorum ruſticis conſuetudo, ſimulachra Dæmonum, candido tecta velamine, miſerâ per Agros ſuos circumferre dementiâ.*

(*b*) and

(*b*) and Pontifical (*c*), which bleſs Croſſes and Relicks as weapons of defence againſt evil Spirits, Tempeſts, malignant air, Thieves, Invaders, hurtful beaſts. And he does not dwell within many doors of a Prophet, who cannot gueſs at the proneneſs of the people to ſuperſtitious uſages. The Rebels of *Devonſhire* in the Reign of *Edward* the ſixth (*d*), in their march to the ſiege of *Exeter*, carried before them (as the "*Jews* "did the Ark of God, in the times of old) the Pix, or "conſecrated Hoſt, born under a Canopy, with Croſ-"ſes, Banners, Candleſticks, Holy-bread, and Holy-"water, and other things; though the walls of *Exe-*"*ter* fell not down before this falſe Ark, as *Dagon* "did before the true. And it is commonly known what virtue is aſcribed to the Pope's *Agnus Dei's*, and how the people uſe them as holy Statues in which Chriſt's Divine Virtue ſo reſides, as by its glorious preſence and power to expell all enemies ghoſtly and bodily. Here truſt is put in a Creature as a *Shechinah* of Chriſt, which is not ſuch, and conſequently that truſt is no better than a reliance on an Idol.

b *Rit. Rom.* p. 297. *Dom. Jeſu——præſta ut hoc ſigno Sanctæ crucis + omnis diſcedat ſævitia Tempeſtatum.*

c *Pontif. Rom.* fol. 168.—— *Iſporum—— Reliquias humiliter amplectentibus; contra Diabolum & Angelos ejus; contra fulmina, fulgura & tempeſtates, &c.*

d *D. Heyl. in Hiſt. of Ref. in A.* 3. *R. E.* 6. p. 76.

See the Conſecrat. of St. *Dominick's* Beads in Arch. *Caraccius de Roſar.* p. 3. c. 5.

PART 2.

Of the Idolatry charged on the Romaniſts *in the Worſhip of the Images of Saints.*

TOuching the Images of the Saints, and the Veneration of them, it is fit I ſay ſomething; but the Premiſſes being conſidered, I have the leſs need of being voluminous.

It is a queſtion whether any ſuch Images can be made with any ſuitableneſs to the Prototypes. Chriſt indeed hath raiſed his own body long ago, and it is contained in the Heavens. But of Saints who are yet in an imperfect eſtate, whoſe bodies are yet aſleep in the duſt; what

what *Praxiteles* or *Titian*, can give us fit Statues, or Pictures of them? What they were we may by Images and Pictures conceive. But what they now are in the preſent heavenly condition, with relation to which the *Romaniſts* worſhip them, who on earth can reveal to us, whilſt eye hath not ſeen it, neither hath ear heard it?

But for the Images or Pictures of the Saints in their former eſtate on earth; if they be made with diſcretion; if they be the Repreſentations of ſuch whoſe Saintſhip no wiſe man calleth into queſtion; if they be deſigned as their honourable Memorials; they who are wiſe to ſobriety, do make uſe of them; and they are permitted in *Geneva* it ſelf, where remain in the Quire of the Church of St. *Peter* (*a*), the Pictures of the twelve Prophets on one ſide, and on the other thoſe of the twelve Apoſtles, all in wood; alſo the Pictures of the Virgin and St. *Peter* in one of the Windows. And we give to ſuch Pictures that negative honour which they are worthy of. We value them beyond any Images beſides that of Chriſt; we help our memories by them; we forbear all ſigns of contempt towards them. But worſhip them we do not, ſo much as with external poſitive ſigns: for if we uncover the head, we do it not to them, but at them, to the honour of God who hath made them ſo great Inſtruments in the Chriſtian Church; and to the ſubordinate praiſe of the Saints themſelves.

(*a*) *Laſſels's Voyage to Italy*, p. 46.

They who worſhip ſuch Images, do either worſhip them as the Statues of ſuch inviſible Powers as do under God govern the world; or of holy Spirits who hear them in all places, and pray to God particularly for them; or who only pray for them in general; or as ſo many *Shechinahs* of ruling, or interceding Saints.

And, Firſt, If they worſhip them as Repreſentations of ruling Dæmons, they are Idolatrous. For they thereby give away the honour of Gods reſerved power, to a Creature: They honour as Clients the ſtatue of a Saint, whilſt God is by right their Patron.

Secondly, If they worſhip the Images of Saints, only as holy ſpirits who pray for them, and hear them in any place, by the help of that God whoſe eſſence is every-where, and who enabled the Prophet to know the actions of *Gehazi*, when he was out of his ſight; they are ſtill thereby in peril of Idolatry: for if God does not enable them to hear, and they pray with confidence in them as hearing, they relye on a power in the Creature, which God hath not communicated to it.

Thirdly, If they honour the Images of Saints only as holy ſpirits who in general pray for them, they are not to be thence condemned as Idolaters: for ſhould they ſo far debaſe their reaſon as to give to the Image the ſame honour which is due to the Saint, they honour but a creature that is inferior, with the honour of a creature, ſuperior to it, who prayeth for them in the maſs of mankind. And if they bow to ſuch an Image, that external ſign of worſhip can't reaſonably be interpreted by the beholders as a ſign of Divine honour; becauſe they bow to that which appears no other than the Image of a Saint, and not a Crucifix or Image of Chriſt (the eye ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing theſe); and therefore it hath no higher honour than the Prototype, which is a Creature. I except here ſuch bowing and kneeling to the Image of a Saint as is in uſe in the *Roman* Church; and is accompanied with a form of Prayer proper to be addreſſed to God, and particularly that form which Chriſt hath taught us. For though the Catechiſm of *Trent* requireth the Pariſh Prieſt to let

"let the people underſtand, that (*a*) when any one "pronounceth the Lords-Prayer to the Image of a "Saint, he ſhould think only that he joineth his Pray-"ers with thoſe of that Saint to God for him. Yet the people are not ſo apt to receive the inſtruction, and to be free from miſtake: and this the Catechiſm it ſelf ſuppoſeth, whilſt it ſpeaketh of the need there is of the greateſt caution (*b*) in this matter: need of it, not only for the moment of the thing, but for the eaſineſs of erring in it.

Fourthly, If they worſhip them as *Shechinahs* of ruling Dæmons, they honour that as the preſence of a power which God is pleaſed every-where to exerciſe; and which he hath not fixed in ſuch Statues, in order to any eminent operation. Wherefore they give the honour of Gods *Schechinah* to that which is not ſuch, and their truſt is in an Idol. And here the practice of the Church of *Rome* is ſcandalous, if its conſtitution be not. There is a common perſwaſion among that people, that Prayers are more effectually heard, and that Miracles are ſooner done before an Image than in the abſence of it: That one Image is a more excellent *Shechinah* than another; that our Lady will perform things at *Loretto*, which ſhe will not do at *Rome* it ſelf. And they who deſire bleſſing of St. *Winifred*, think they ſooneſt attain it at her well. The *Liber Feſtivalis* (as they called it) in uſe here in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the ſeventh (*c*), aboundeth with ſtories of Divine power working in Images; and amongſt other tales, it telleth of the power of the Image of St. *Nicholas*, in keeping mens Goods in ſafety; and how certain Thieves who were permitted for a time to ſteal a few Goods committed to its care, were by St. *Nicholas* forced to ſpeedy reſtitution. We read in *Krantzius* (*d*), that Count *Gerhard*, Uncle to *Waldemare* of *Sleſwick*, went

a *Catech. ex Decr. Conc. Trident.* p. 513. *immò vero cum ad Imaginem ſancti alicujus quis Dominicam Orationem pronuntiat*, &c.

b *Catech. ibid. Quo loco illud maximè cavendum eſt omnibus, nè quod Dei proprium eſt, cuiquam prætera tribuant*, &c.

c *Lib. Feſt. in S. Nicolai Narrat.* 6. See in *Wichmans Sabb. Mar.* c. 14. p. 225, of a Schedule which a young man had ſealed to the Devil, dropped into his hands, whilſt he was kneeling at the Image of the Virgin of *Loritto*.

d *Krantzii Saxon.* l. 9. c. 10. p. 236.

went

went to battel againſt the *Danes* with the Image of the Virgin about his neck; after the manner of *Sylla* the Dictator, who uſed in ſuch emergencies, certain little ſtatues of *Apollo* or *Jove*, one of which after his eſcape in a very dangerous Fight, he kiſſed, ſaying, *O Jupiter! I had almoſt fallen with you this day, and you with me.* And the Books of the moſt learned Papiſts are full of Legends, which by telling of the motion of the Images themſelves in wonderful manner, or of the miraculous events ſucceeding the Addreſſes made at them, do incline the people to come thither with confidence, as to the *Shechinahs* of God. *Curtius*, the Provincial of *Belgium*, is one of theſe writers, and I find this ſtory in him: "There was a certain poor man (*b*), "who in extreme need beſeeched our Saviour to pre- "ſerve him, from periſhing, by ſome ſmall Alms. At this "Prayer, *the Image, or rather Chriſt in the Image*, bowed "himſelf, and gave to the beggar his right ſhoo as a "help in his need. Away went the man with this new "prize, but the neighbours hearing of it, redeemed "the ſhoo with the equal weight in gold. But that ſhoo "to this day, could never be fitted again to the foot, "but is ſupported with a Chalice. It ſeems this Crucifix was made of Cedar by *Nicodemus* himſelf (*c*); but methinks with no good fancy; the Artiſt having carved a Crown of Gold, inſtead of one of Thorns, upon the head of our holy Lord. *Lipſius* (a man rather learned than wiſe) telleth (*d*) of the many drops of blood which diſtilled from a certain wooden Image of the Virgin at *Halla*. And on this he looked as on a miracle, either declaring her reſentment of the preſent Wars, or foretelling the ceſſation of them by her means. The Eyes of *Venantius Fortunatus* were cured of their pain, after having been anointed (as they ſay) from the Lamp of Saint *Martin*; and *Baronius*

b F. C. Curtius de Clav. Dom. c. 5. p. 42.

c Curt. ibid. p. 38, 39.

d Lipſ. Virg. Hall. c. 5. cui Tit. ſanguinis fudor in ſtatuâ. p. 1303.

ronius (*a*) hence proveth, as from a certain medium, the worſhip of Images.

a *Baron. Annal. Tom. 9. A. 825. n. 35. p. 796. Ad marg. Cultus SS. Imaginum miraculo probatus. Set Spal. de Rep. Eccl. l. 7. c. 12. p. 296.*

But how if God doth this by Nature, or ſometimes by miraculous Power, for the trial of our Faith? Or what if ſuch things ſhould be done by Gods juſt permiſſion, by the Devil himſelf, to men that have renounced their Reaſon? Why then, the Devil has their truſt and praiſe inſtead of God; an Idolatry not to be mentioned without religious fear and indignation. And doth not the Devil ſometimes work ſuch wonders? How then come the Books of the Heathens to be fill'd with ſtories of Miracles wrought in or at their Images, as well as thoſe of the *Romaniſts*? If it be told by the *Romaniſt Lipſius*, That an Image of the Virgin bled; it is alſo ſtoried by the Heathen *Porphyrie* (*b*), That when a certain King endeavour'd to pull an hair from a Statue of the *Brachmans*, the blood guſhed out againſt him. Moreover, that the Statue did ſweat ſo exceedingly in the heat of the weather, that they were forc'd to refreſh it with perpetual fanning.

b *Porphyr. in Fragm. de Stygr. p. 284.*

Laſtly, If the worſhippers of the Images of Saints, do honour them only as *Shechinahs*, where the Saints hear better than in other places, and as their Chambers of meer Requeſt that they would pray for them; they commit a miſtake, and they think them preſent when they are not: but they give not away Gods Honour, which is not infringed by this meer thought, that his Saints are in certain places; ſeeing that belongeth to their finite condition. But if wiſe men look for them in any certain place, they look for them rather in ſome ſpace of the clear air, than in an Image, or a Cave, where there may be ſuſpition of Impoſture.

Now, though men by this laſt way of venerating Images, do not idolize them as Supreme Gods, or as ruling-

ruling-Dæmons; yet they offend in the other extreme, and diſparage them as Saints, whilſt they make them to chuſe ſuch mean and unbecoming Apartments. This was the belief of *Arnobius*, with part of whoſe Confeſſion I will end this Chapter. "I very grievouſly (*b*) "reproach'd thoſe whom [in my ſtate of Heatheniſm] "I thought to be Divine, whilſt I believ'd them to be "Wood, Stone, Bone, or to dwell in the matter of "ſuch things.

(*b*) *Arnob. adv. Gent.* l. 1. p. 23.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Idolatry charged, without any tolerable colour, on the Church *of* England.

IT was the wiſdom of our Legal Reformers, to purge the Church of all manifeſt Corruptions, and particularly of thoſe which had crept in about the Invocation of Saints, and the Worſhip of Images.

But there aroſe men of a worſe temper, and ſuch who uſurped Power. And theſe thought that nothing of the old Building was again to be uſed. They were not for ſweeping and repairing of Gods Houſe, but for razing the very Foundation, and ſowing the Place with Salt. "Among our ſelves (ſaith the Learned Mr. "*Thorndike* (*a*), meaning not the Sons of the Church, "but the giddy people of *England*) it ſeems yet to be "a diſpute, Whether any Ceremonies at all are to be "uſed in the publick Service of God. The pretences "of this time having extended the imagination of Ido-"latry ſo far, as to make the Ceremonies and Uten-"ſils of Gods Service, Idols; and the Ceremonies "which they are uſed with, Idolatries.

Nay, it was the way of the Fanatical people in the late Civil Wars, to give the name of Idol to any thing to which their fancy was not reconcil'd. Some call'd the moſt excellent Father of our Country (*b*), the Idol of the people. With ſome, the Liturgy (*c*), the Surplice (*d*), a Church, a Steeple, was an Idol. Neither did there want thoſe who beſtow'd that title upon that neceſſary Doctrine of the Goſpel which requireth conditions and qualifications of Holineſs in order to acceptance

a Mr. *Thorndike* in his Epil. par. 3. c. 25. p. 282.

b *Trial of Regicides*, p. 160. *H. Peters* to one who prayed for the King. *Old Gentleman, your Idol will not ſtand long.*

c Mr. *Caſe* in Serm. of the Covenant. p. 65, 66. *The Dagon of the Biſh. Service-book brake its neck before this Ark of the Covenant.*

d *Molin. Defenſ. Verit.* p. 15. *Beza vocat, Albam Veſtim Baalis, Sacerdotam Infignæ*, &c.

ceptance with God through Christ (*a*).

I should run a strange and endless course, if I should pursue all their Extravagancies; but a few of the most colourable amongst them, I will a little consider. Those I mean, are the three following. The first is, the bowing towards the Altar (*b*).

The second is, the kneeling at the holy Communion.

The third is, the Reverence at the name of Jesus.

The first of these, the bowing towards the Altar, is no Command of the Church, nor the common practice of it in Parochial Assemblies, nor so much as the Counsel of any of its Canons, besides the seventh of those which they call the Canons of Bishop *Laud* (*c*). And in that Canon the true spirit of Christian meekness and charity is thus expressed. "The reviving — "of this ancient and laudable custom, we heartily "commend to the serious consideration of all good "people; not with any intention to exhibit any Re- "ligious worship to the Communion-Table — but only "for the advancement of Gods Majesty, and to give "him alone that honour and glory that is due unto "him, and not otherwise. And in the practice or omis- "sion of this Rule, we desire, that the Rule of Cha- "rity, prescribed by the Apostle, be observed, which "is, That they which use this Rite, despise not them "who use it not; and that they who use it not, con- "demn not those who use it.

And little reason there is, that those who use it not, should condemn those who use it, as Idolaters, when they publickly declare that they bow not, as others (*d*), to it, but towards it, to God alone; who there exhibits that high favour of renewing, by visible tokens and pledges, our Covenant with him. Our sign of Reverence must be some way exhibited; and

what

a *Anna Trapnel* in her Legacies for Saints, *Lond.* 1654. p. 3, 4.

b *Molin. in Specim. cont. Durell. p.* 67. *Laudus — ad Idolum* (h. e. *Altare*) *a se erectum, primus in Angliâ procubuit ad modum Adorantis, &c.*

c *Const. & Can. A.* 1640. *Can.* 7.

d *Lipsius Ode ad Divam Hallensem. Op.* p. 1244. *Sacram prono ad aram flecto corpus — Missal. Rom. in Ord. Miss.* p. 210. *Sacerdos paratus cum ingreditur Altare, facta Illi debitâ reverentiâ, &c.*

what Idolatry is there in the exhibition of it this way, when 'tis but the way, not the object of our Religious veneration? It is againſt the common ſenſe of the ſign of Incurvation, to interpret it as the worſhip of every thing in a Church, before which the ſign is made: It muſt be the circumſtance of the object, and the form of addreſs, and the application made to it, which determineth its worſhip. Few therefore there are ſo injudiciouſly uncharitable as to accuſe the Miniſter of adoring the Church-bible, or Common-prayer-book; though he often bows, and kneels, and prays before them. Few I ſay there are that do ſo: for I think his madneſs ſingular, who in the late Revolutions in *England*, maintained in a publick Pamphlet, (well worthy ſure an *Imprimatur*) "that (*a*) Words in a Book "were Images, and conſequently that to pray before a Book, or to uſe a Book in Prayer is Idolatry, or Image-worſhip.

a This Author is mention'd by Dr. *H. Hammond* of Idol. p. 359. of vol. 1.

It is true, concerning the ſecond Ceremony, the kneeling at the holy Communion, that it is enjoined by our Church; but enjoined it is in the quality of a decent circumſtance, and not as an eſſential part of the Lords-Supper. But we are by no Rubrick or Canon enjoined to kneel to the Sacramental bread, which is declared ſtill to be bread (though not the bread of common Tables) and not the natural body of Chriſt: Alſo before the Adminiſtration of it, which is done in a form of Prayer, which requireth our Reverence, the people are generally on their knees in devotion to God. If any begin then to kneel, their kneeling is by the Church declared to be *at* the Sacrament, not *to* the Elements of it, (as they of *Rome* do (*b*) towards which ſhe alloweth not ſo much as a *Proſopopeia* in her Prayers; and which are neither the Statues nor the Pictures of Chriſts Perſon; though they be apt memorials of his

b *Miſſ. Rom. in Can. Miſſæ.* p. 226. *Sacerdos prolatis verbis conſecr. ſtatim Hoſtiam conſecratam genuflexus adorat.*

Passion; and are more safely received in their ordinary form than with such Figures as the *Roman* Church impresseth upon them; of which great variety is to be seen in the *Electa* of *Novarinus*.

Further, The Church of *England* to avoid all pretence of cavil and exception, hath besides her Article against the Corporal Presence, given to the world an express declaration of her design in the injunction of Kneeling. She declareth that this is done in reverence and humility to Christ, and not to the shews or substance of the Elements, or to the natural body of Christ under the shews of Bread.

They who are acquainted with the writings of *Monsieur Daille*, have no more reason to think him a *Romanist*, than they have to take *Bellarmine* for a zealot amongst the Reformed. Now this is the acknowledgment of that grave and learned person, in his Apology for the Reformed Churches. " Whilst the Church " of *England* (*a*) declareth, as it doth, against the a- " doration of the external Elements, their kneeling at " the Communion cannot be taken for the worshipping " of the Bread, nor be thought any thing else but the " worship of Christ himself reigning in the Heavens.

a *Daill. Apol.* p. 85.

In this external Adoration of Christ, the Church of *England* followeth the ancient Church, which, though it often adored by bowing, and not kneeling; yet sometimes it used that gesture, and was never wanting in some sign of Reverence. Such Adoration is mentioned by St. *Chrysostom*; and particularly the gesture of kneeling or prostration in some places; though *Monsieur Larrogne* hath not pleased, when he had just occasion so to do (*b*), to take notice of it. That eminent Father in his third Homily on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, thus upbraideth the irreverent and indevout Communicant (*c*): " The Royal Table is prepared, the " King

b *Larrog. Histoire de l'Euch.* 1. *partie* c. 10. p. 218, 219.

c *Chrys. Hom.* 3. *in* c. 1. *Ep. ad Eph.* p. 887. τράπεζα, &c. οὐκοῦν ἀνάπεσον, καὶ μέτεχε.——

"King himſelf is preſent, and ſtandeſt thou gaping a-
"bout? Thy Garments are unclean, and art not thou,
"at all, concerned at it? But they are pure, [that is,
"the Royal Table and the King of that Marriage-
"Feaſt,] wherefore fall down and communicate.

For the third Ceremony, the bowing at the name of Jeſus, it is alſo enjoined, not as a duty in its nature, neceſſary to ſalvation, but as a decent ſign of our inward eſteem of that ineſtimable benefit, which that name brings to our mind (*a*). Of that juſt eſteem, and not meerly of the outward Ceremony, I hope that zealous Gentleman ſpake, who is reported to have wiſhed that every knee might rot which would not bow at the Name of Jeſus (*b*).

a See *Injunct. of Q. E.* 52. & *Can.* 18. *in Can. & Conſt. An.* 1603.

b *Whitt's Cenſ.* 1. of Scand. Min. p. 21.

By bowing at this Name we advance not the Son above the Father, but adore the whole Trinity, whilſt by the cue or ſign of this name we are reminded of the greateſt mercy that ever God vouchſafed; the Name of Jeſus diſplaying the wiſdom and mercy of God beyond thoſe of *El*, *Jah*, *Adonai*, or *Jehovah*. And for us to bow when-ever we hear that Name ſolemnly pronounced, is no more to commit Idolatry than is our crying out at the reading of the Goſpels, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, or, *O the depth of the riches of Gods mercy in Chriſt*. For theſe words, and that geſture, are but external ſigns of the ſame inward acknowledgment and adoration. And they who think we worſhip the very name (*c*) when we bow at it, are as groſly miſtaken as the ignorant people in *Athenæus*: for ſome there mentioned (*d*), when they heard others cry out, ζῶ σῶον, *God ſave you*; or ζῆσι, *God grant you life*, at the ſneezing of any; conceited that they adored either the very ſternutation, or the brain of man which then diſcharged it ſelf of the fumes which oppreſſed it.

c *Molinæus de Mon. Tempor. Pont. Rom.* p. 343, 344. *bodie ſalutantur Syllabæ.*

d *Athen.* l. 2. c. 25. p. 66. & *Caſaub. Not.* p. 137, 138.

The Church of *England* doth not enjoin men to

bow *to* the Name of Jeſus as to an Object, but only *at it*, as at a ſignal by which they are admoniſhed of the time of paying Reverence to God. Neither is there any ſuch form uſed in our Church as in the Church of *Rome*, which to the Prieſts travelling into *England* (*a*), preſcribeth this out of the Miſſal of *Sarum*. *O God who haſt made the moſt glorious name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt thy only begotten Son, amiable to the faithful, with the higheſt affection of ſuavity, and terrible and dreadful to evil ſpirits; mercifully grant that all they* who devoutly worſhip this name *on earth, may perceive in this preſent life the ſweetneſs of holy conſolation; and obtain in the life to come the joy of exultation and endleſs Jubilee, by the ſame Lord.* It is my opinion that the Judicious of that Church mean by that Name, our Saviour himſelf as Redeemer of the World: but the Church expreſſeth it ſelf in ſuch manner that to the people the Name of Jeſus ſoundeth like ſome diſtinct adorable object. For it ſpeaketh of worſhipping that Name; it hath the Maſs of the Name of Jeſus; the Litany of the Name of Jeſus (*b*); and ſuch-like Forms which are apt to entangle common Hearers.

St. *Ludgard* (*c*) would have ſuch honour done, not only to Chriſts Name, but to that of the Virgin; and he adviſeth that when theſe words in the *Te Deum* are repeated, *When thou tookeſt upon thee to deliver man thou didſt not abhor the Virgins womb*; that then we bow down to the very ground. And it is ſaid (*d*) of St. *Gerard* Biſhop of *Canadium* (that is, of *Chonad* in *Hungary*) that by his zeal for the honour of the holy Virgin, he brought it at length ſo to paſs in that Country, that when they heard the Name of *our Lady* pronounced, they ſtraightway fell on their knees, and bowed their heads towards the earth. And indeed nothing ſtoopeth lower than Superſtition. But in the Church

a *Miſſale pro Sacerdot. Itinerant. in Ang. A.* 1615. *In Miſſâ de nom. Jeſu.* p. 108, 109. *Deus — concedat — ut omnes qui* hoc nomen Jeſu devotè *venerantur in terris*, &c.

b See *Horſt. par. An. Stell.* 6. p. 402. c. 7. *de Cultu & honore SS. nom. Jeſu & in Man. Pittat.* p. 39. *Litaniæ de nom. Jeſu.*

c *Al. Gazæus de Offic. B. M.* p. 99.

d *Aug. Wichmans in Sabbatiſmo Mariano.* c. 7. p. 74, 75.

Church of *England* the bowing is neither that of Superſtition nor Idolatry, but of Religious Reverence, at the hint of a word which ſetteth forth to us all the dimenſions, or rather the infinity of the Divine Wiſdom and Love (*a*).

Let not then the ignorance or malice of men who make Court to nothing but their own *Diana*, accuſe that excellent Church of Idolatry, which hath ſo carefully purged her ſelf of Idols, though not of all manner of Rites: That had been to have ſwept away the convenient Ornaments of Gods houſe together with the durt of it, the name which the *Jews* give to an Idol.

Of ſome in *England* who have rent themſelves from the ſafe Communion of that Church, there may be juſter reaſon for ſuch complaint. What can judicious men think of the true original *Quaker*, but as of one who by believing that God is not diſtinct from the Saints (*b*), and by worſhipping that which he calls his Light or Chriſt within him, rejecteth the Perſon of our Redeemer, and committeth Idolatry with his own imagination? muſt not they make a like judgment of ſuch as *Anna Trapnell* (*c*), who believed for a while, that God dwelt eſſentially in his Saints? muſt not they alſo judg of *Lodowick Muggleton* as of a mad-man, or of an Impoſtor, ſelling his Bleſſings at a very profitable rate; or of an Idolater worſhipping nothing for the one true God, but a confined perſon of fleſh and bones. For he owneth no other *Godhead* than that which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin (*d*), and circumſcribed by it for a ſeaſon; and as he blaſphemouſly continues to ſpeak (*e*), ſuch as loſt it ſelf for a while, both in honour and knowledg; not knowing till he was glorified, that himſelf was God the Father, but that *Elias* was his God and his Father. For that

a See in this Arg. Dr. *Twyſs* Letter in Mr. *Mede's* Works. p. 1038 and Mr. *Mede's* Anſwer, p. 1041, 1042.

b *Fox's* great Myſtery, p. 16. is not that of God, which comes out of God? Is not that of his being the ſoul, &c.

c *A. Trapnell's* Legacy for Saints, p. 36.

d *Paradiſ.* Dialogue betwixt Faith and Reaſon, c. 2. p. 14, 15, 16, &c.

e *Ibid.* p. 24, 25.

that alſo is one of his Blaſphemies, That God not finding it ſafe to truſt the Angels (*a*) upon his deſcent from Heaven, he committed his place to the ſafer truſt of *Moſes* and *Elias* (*b*). A blaſphemy worſe, if poſſible, than that in *Irenæus* (*c*), of the extravagant *Gnoſticks*, who ſuppoſed the place of the *Logos* to have been on earth ſupplied by the Angel *Gabriel*.

a *Paradiſ. Dial.* p. 22.
b *Ibid.* c. 3. p. 21, 22, &c.
c *Iren.* l. 1. c. 12 p. 85, 87.

But I forbear any further repetition of his abominable Fancies, which will cauſe as great pain in the ears of pious Chriſtians, as the Juſtice of the Magiſtrates has lately done in his own.

I ſhut up this Chapter with the Prayer of that Learned *French*-man *Iſaac Caſaubon* (*d*): *Thou, O Lord Jeſu, preſerve this Church of* England, *and give a ſound mind to thoſe Nonconformiſts who deride the Rites and Ceremonies of it.*

d *Is. Caſaub. in Ephemeridibus ſuis, Ann.* 1610. *Cal. Novembr. ap. Molin. def. Verit.* p. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the means which God hath vouchſafed the World towards the cure of Idolatry; and more particularly, of his favour in exhibiting, to that purpoſe, the Shechinah *of his Son.*

PART I.

Of the Cure of Idolatry.

THE Notion of Idolatry being ſtated, and alſo illuſtrated by the practice of it amongſt Gentiles, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; I proceed to ſhew the means which God, in pity of our weakneſs, hath given us towards the Cure of this Evil.

Againſt all manner of falſe Gods, and ruling-Dæmons, he gave to all the world a Principle of Reaſon, which teacheth that there is one Supreme Being, abſolute in Perfection; and by conſequence, that he, being every-where, by Almighty Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, is every-where to be adored and truſted in as the only God.

The ſame Principle of Reaſon teacheth them, that God can neither be repreſented by an Image, nor confined to it; neither knoweth it much more of the inferiour Powers of the inviſible World, ſave that they are; and conſequently it hath no ground for addreſſes to them.

For the *Jews*, they had an expreſs command for the worſhip of one God without Image; and many declarations of God, as governing the world by his immediate Providence.

Alſo

Alſo Chriſtian Religion ſheweth plainly, that the gods of the Heathens were Dœmons, or evil ſpirits; and that there is but one God, and one Mediator, to be by Chriſtians adored. It eſtabliſheth a Church or Corporation of Chriſtians who agree in the worſhip of one God in Trinity. In Baptiſm, or the Sacrament of admittance into that Society, it preſcribeth a ſolemn Renuntiation of the Devil and his works, of which a part were the Pomps, or Proceſſions, in honour of Idols. In the Sacrament which is a memorial of the Paſſion of Chriſt, the Head and Founder of this Society, it offereth to us the Cup of the Lord, in oppoſition to the cup of Devils. On the Firſt-day of the Week ſet a-part for publick worſhip, it maketh a Remembrance of the Creation of the world, by the Son, by whom the Father made all things, and not by any Dœmons; as alſo of the Reſurection of Chriſt from the dead, by which he conquered the powers of darkneſs. In the Form of Prayer which our Lord taught the Church, it prayeth for deliverance ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ (*a*) from that evil one (from Satan the deſtroyer, as *Rabbi Judah* was wont to petition); and, in the Doxology, it aſcribeth not (with the Heathen world which then lay *in maligno illo*, under the Power of the God of this world in general Idolatry;) the Kingdom, Power, and Glory, to the Devil; but to that one true God, who was the Father of Jeſus Chriſt.

a Nicol. Drabitius in Epit. Revelat. Divinar. p. 535. *—ab iſto maligno malorum omnium Autore Satanâ.*

But upon moſt of theſe Subjects, I have already inlarged: It remaineth, therefore, that I ſpeak of the means which God hath ſpecially vouchſafed in the caſe of Images; a Subject not commonly diſcourſed of, and hinted only in the former Papers.

This Diſquiſition I will begin with the notion of the Inviſibility of God; proceeding thence, to the condeſcenſion he vouchſafes, towards the very eye and

and fancy of man, in the Shechinah of his Son.

There is, in the very Creation, a great part of inviſible matter and motion. Many things, beſides God Almighty, are not immediately ſubject to mans ſenſe, though his Reaſon can reach them, after a Philoſophical conſideration of their palpable effects. God, indeed, could have made that matter, which is now inviſible, to have been ſeen by man, in all the minute and curious Textures of it. For what ſhould hinder that omnipotence which formed the light, and created the ſoul, from framing the Fibers of the Nerves in ſuch delicate manner in this life, [what poſſibly he may do in the cœleſtial body] as to give to man a kind of natural Microſcope. But, for his own Divine ſubſtance, which hath neither limits, nor parts, nor Phyſical motion [which is the diviſion of Parts,] nor figure [which is inconſiſtent with immenſity]; nor colour [which is an effect of figure, and motion upon the brain]; it is certain, that in this body, we cannot ſee it; and there is great reaſon to doubt whether we can do ſo in any other, which, though it be cœleſtial, is ſtill but body. For this ſight, then, we are not to hope, unleſs we mean it of the fuller knowledg of Gods will; and interpret the antecedent by the conſequent in that place of Scripture (*a*), which ſaith, *No man hath ſeen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the boſom of the Father, he hath reveal'd him.* St. *John* in that place denieth expreſly actual ſight, as alſo he doth again in his firſt Epiſtle (*b*): *Tertullian* (*c*) in his refutation of *Praxeas*, diſcourſeth of the inviſibility of God, and the viſibility of the Son of God [illuſtrating his ſenſe by the appearance of the Sun, which is not ſeen in its very body, but by its rays]. And he further noteth of St. *Paul*, that he had to this purpoſe denied (*d*) both the actual and potential

(*a*) S. Joh. 1. 18.

(*b*) 1 Joh. 4. 12.

(*c*) *Tertull. Adverſ. Prax.* Sect. 14. pag. 507, 508.

(*d*) 1 Tim. 6. 16.

tial ſight of God. *No man* (ſaid that Apoſtle) *hath ſeen God, nor can ſee him.* No man whileſt alive can ſee God as he is, as he dwells in Heaven, the Palace and Throne of his moſt eminent Glory. He cannot behold that now (unleſs in ſuch a glymps as St. *Stephen* enjoy'd) which he ſhall ſee after the Reſurrection, when the vail of this groſs body ſhall be removed; for to the meek in heart, it is promiſed that they ſhall ſee God. To them ſhall be revealed that ſecret of faces, which the *Jews* ſo often ſpeak of, and adjourn to the future life (*a*). But for the ſubſtance of the Godhead, it is for ever inviſible, the infinity of it [which *Tertullian* (*b*) ſeemeth to call the fulneſs of the Deity, and denieth to have been ſeen by *Moſes*] can no more be taken in by mans eye, than a whole circle of the Univerſe can be taken in at the ſame moment by the glaſs of a Teleſcope. And for the Eſſence of it, it ſeems indiſcernible, even to the very Angels. For although Angels be ſpirits, yet they poſſeſſing a ſpace, are of a far differing nature from the divine ſubſtance, which filleth and pierceth all things. The Ranters, (*c*) indeed, profeſſed to ſee in this life, the very Eſſence of God; but the true God was not every thing which they dream'd of.

(*a*) See *Maimo. de fund. Leg.* c. 1. ſect. 9, 10. p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

(*b*) *Tirtull. cont. Prax*, p. 507.

(*c*) *Ranters Epiſtles*, p. 24, 25, 28.

Now man, in this earthly ſtate, receiving knowledg chiefly from the ſenſes, he is exceeding covetous of ſenſible helps in his reſearch after the moſt abſtracted notions, which inclination being vehement in the vulgar, who are generally of very groſs apprehenſion; they purſue not the object of their minds [be it the moſt Divine and Spiritual God himſelf] with pure and unmixed reaſon; but they at beſt, blend it with ſome bodily phantaſm, and often dwell wholly upon ſuch an Image, and the external object of it; inſomuch that their imagination worſhippeth that which ſhould be entertained

tained only as the help and inſtrument of their mind. So that although the natural deſire of a viſible object be not the neceſſary cauſe, yet it is the occaſional root of all that proper Idolatry, or Image-worſhip, which divided it ſelf into more kinds, than there are Nations in the world.

PART 2.

Of the Cure of Idolatry by the Shechinah *of God.*

GOD knowing well the frame (*a*) and infirmity of man [though himſelf did not erect it ſo as now it ſtands, with much decay, and many breaches], was pleaſed to condeſcend to the weak condition of his nature, and to vouchſafe him a kind of viſible preſence, leſt in the entire abſence of it, his fancy ſhould have bow'd him down, even to ſuch creatures, to which man himſelf being compared, is a kind of ſubcæleſtial Deity. It pleaſed then the wiſe and merciful God, to ſhew to the very eyes of man, though not his ſpiritual and immenſe ſubſtance, or any ſtatue or picture of it, properly ſo called; yet his *Shechinah*, or viſible glory, the ſymbol of his eſpecial Preſence.

(*a*) Let this difficult Argument, about the Shechinah, be read with caution; even where I have not interſperſed words of Caution.

This divine appearance, I ſuppoſe to have been generally exhibited in a mighty luſtre of flame or light, ſet off with thick, and, as I may call them, ſolemn Clouds. Nothing is in nature ſo pure and pleaſant, and venerable as light, eſpecially in ſome reflexions, or refractions of it, which are highly agreeable to the temper of the brain. By light God diſcovereth his other works, and by it he hath pleaſed to ſhadow out himſelf; and both ſecular and ſacred Writers have thence taken plenty of metaphors, dipping as it were their pens in light when they write of him, who made Heaven and Earth. "*Jamblichus* in his book of the

" *Egyptian Myſteries*, ſetteth out by light, the Power, the Simplicity, the Penetration, the Ubiquity of God. *R. Abin Levita* ſuppoſeth it to be the garment of God, it having been ſaid by *David*, that he cloatheth himſelf with it. *Maimonides* ſuppoſeth the matter of the Heavens to have a riſen from the extenſion of this veſtment of Divine Light. *Eugubinus* ſuppoſeth the Divine Light to be the *Empyrean* Heaven, or habitation of God. And this he thinketh to be the true *Olympus* of the Poets, ſo called, *quaſi* ἀπολαμπῆ, becauſe it ſhineth throughout with admirable glory.

S. *Baſil* calleth the Light of God not ſenſible, but intelligible; and conceiteth that, after that firſt uncreated, the Angels are a ſecond and created light. Such ſayings, though they have in them a mixture of extravagance, yet in the main, they teach the ſame with the Scripture, that God is light; or that there is nothing in the Creation ſo fit an Emblem of him, and ſo fit to be uſed in his appearance to the world. Thus therefore is the Shechinah of God deſcribed in the Prophecy of *Habakkuk* (*a*): *God came from Teman, and the holy One from Mount Paran, Selah: His glory covered the Heavens, and the Earth was full of his praiſe: And his brightneſs was as the light, he had horns* [or beams] *coming* [or ſtreaming] *out of his hand* [or ſide].

(*a*) Hab. 3. 3, 4.

Whether the *Shechinah* of God ever appeared (out of a viſion) in light organiz'd in mans ſhape, I am not certain; though ſuch a Repreſentation be apt to excite the veneration of mankind. For even when *Herod* ſpake from his Throne of Majeſty, and the light was with ſingular advantage, reflected from his Robe of ſilver, the amuſed people were the more readily induced to celebrate him as a God on Earth. But of the figure of the *Shechinah*, I profeſs my ſelf uncertain; and

and often ruminate upon the *Chaldee* Oracle, which adviseth us, when we see the most holy Fire shining without a form or determinate shape, then to hear the voice of it (*a*): that is, to esteem it then the true Oracle of God, and not the imposture of a Dæmon. And such a fire *Psellus* the Scholiast on this Oracle, affirmeth to have been seen by many men. And I might shew somewhat like it in the Instances of *Abraham* and *Moses*. But there has been seen a false Fire also: and the *Massalians*, whom *Epiphanius* calleth ὀμφαλοψύχους, bending down their head to their navel, professed they saw a divine fire, and received the ardor of a divine spirit, being either deluded by the Devil, or deceived into this conceit, by some odd fantasms which arose from the nerves extended in an uncommon posture.

a *Orac. Chald. ap. Psellum*, p. 81. ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς, &c. κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνήν.

Now for the *Shechinah* or visible glory of God in this world [for whether it appeared to any as in the other, till the day-break of the Gospel will bear a dispute]; it was in all likelihood effected, not by the Father whom no man hath seen (*b*), but by the second Person in the Trinity, the King and Light of the World, who was afterwards Incarnate. Both the Orthodox and the Hæretical have maintained the visibility of the Son, and the invisibility of the Father, though upon different reasons. This did *Origen* (*c*), this did the *Arians*. Thus *Bisterfeldius* (in that very Treatise (*d*) in which he defendeth against *Crellius* the natural Divinity of the Son of God) doth maintain that the Father is invisible to the very Angels; and that Christ even in the Ages long before the Gospel was the visible Image of the Father. Now the reason why true Catholicks affirm the Father to be invisible, and the Son to be visible, are exceedingly different from those of the *Arians*.

b *Just. Martyr. in Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 357.

c *Orig. in St. Hieron. Ep. ad Avitum. Arr. ap. S. Chrys. in* 1 Joh. 18. *& Athanas.* vol. 2. p. 575, 576. See *Novat. de Trin.* c. 25. & 31.

d *Bisterf. contr. Crell.* l. 1. Sect. 2. c. 30. p. 298, &c.

For

For the *Arians* degrading the Son to the condition of a Creature [another, a lesser, a second God, as *Eusebius* (*a*) of *Cæsarea* is bold to call him.] They suppose him to consist of a visible substance. So *Maximinus* the *Arian*, remembred by St. *Austin*, makes the Son invisible only as the Angels, by non-appearance; and the Father invisible by reason of his superior and immutable essence. In the mean time this was the Creed of the Catholicks, that the whole Trinity was invisible in one Divine substance (*b*). It was also their belief that the Son appeared, and not the Father, not from any difference of nature, but of order only; the Father being as it were the root or head of the Trinity, and therefore not so fitly appearing as his Substitute the second Person. And they could perceive no more mutability in the *Logos* when he appeared, than in the Father, when he not in shape, but by voice, did own him as his only begotten Son. And by this reason Saint *Austin* (*c*) might have answered the *Arians* without asserting as he does, that in the Old Testament the whole Trinity appeared. For the manner in which this Appearance of the Son of God was effected, I conceive it to have been done by the Assumption of some principal Angel upon the greatest and most solemn occasions [without any vital or personal union]; and by the ministry of some other holy spirits; together with an extraordinary motion, sometimes in the air, and thence in the brain; and sometimes in the brain only. And in this opinion I have been the more confirmed, since I found the concurrence of the very learned and judicious Mr. *Thorndike* in great measure (*d*). If I were now to guess what Angel was assumed, I would fasten my conjecture on *Michael* the Arch-angel, whom the *Hebrews* call the Prince of Faces, or the Prince of the Presence. By the Son the Father made the World (*e*), and

a See *Euseb. in Dem. & Petav. de Trin.* p. 792.

b *S. Aug.* Epist. 112. c. 8. *Invisibilis est enim natura Dei, non tantum Pater, sed & ipsa Trinitas, unus Deus.*

c *S. Aust.* l. 2. *de Trin.* c. 9, 10, 11, 17. See *G. Nyss.* lib. 1. *advers. Eunom. & Cat. conc. Trident.* p. 394.

d Mr. *Thornd.* Epilog. l. 2. c. 13. p. 90, 91.

e *Ign. Ep. Interpol. ad Philad.* p. 186. δι' οὗ ὁ πατὴρ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε, instead of, αἰῶνας in Hebr. 1. 2.

and what if I say he governed it also, as by his Λόγος, or Word? For in God we do not distinctly apprehend his way of working, but conceive of it under the more general notion of his will and command. If I declare that the Son always acted in the Father's name, I make but the same Profession which *Tertullian* did many ages ago (*a*), and avoid the Anathema which *Marcus Arethusius* (*b*), (or rather which others in the Council of *Sirmium* (*c*)) denounced against all who confess not that the Son ministred to the Father in the Creation of all things, and who maintain that when God said, *Let us make man*, the Father said it not to the Son but to himself.

Accordingly, where God is said in the Old Testament to have appeared, they seem to mistake who ascribe it to an Angel Personating God, and not to the second Person, as the *Shechinah* (or as *Tertullian* (*d*) calleth him) the Representator of the Father. To this purpose it hath been often noted by others, and ought by me in this argument to be again brought to remembrance, how often there is mention in the ancient Paraphrases of the *Jews* of the *Word of God*. Neither doth it enervate the force of this observation, that what we translate the *Word*, does often signifie, I, Thou, or He. Both because several of the places will not admit of that other sense; and because the *Jews* themselves so commonly own this; and so often mention the *Logos* or Word of the Father. *Philo* is very frequent in speaking of the Divine *Logos* as the Substitute and Image of the invisible God, both in his Book of Dreams, and of the Confusion of Tongues. "It is (said *Philo* in that latter Book) a thing well becoming those who so join together fellowship and "science to desire to see God. If that cannot be, they "must content themselves with his sacred Image, his "Word.

a *Tertull. l. 2. contr. Marc. Profitemur Christum semper egisse in Dei Patris nomine. & adversus Prax. Sect. 16. p. 509. Filius visus est semper, & filius conversatus est semper, & filius operatus est semper, ex auctoritate Patris & voluntate.*

b *Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 30. p. 122, 123.*

c See the mistake of *Socr.* and *Soz.* conc. the Symb. of *Marc. Areth.* in *notis H. Valesii. p. 29.*

d *Tert. adversus Prax. Sect. 24. p. 515.*

"Word. A saying which *Eusebius* esteemed worthy of an Asterick, and accordingly transcribed it into his Book of Evangelical Preparation (*a*). The same *Jew* giveth to the *Logos* the title of the shadow or Portraict of God; adding that God Almighty used him as his instrument in framing the World. It is true that by the Logos *Philo* doth often (*b*) understand the World, which by the greatness, order and beauty of it, declareth naturally the Power, Wisdom, and goodness of God; and pleadeth with him in the quality of the Workmanship laid before the feet of the Workman. But it is as true and manifest that he speaketh also of the *Logos* of this inferior *Logos*, as the maker and governour of it. In his Book *de Mundi Opificio* (*c*), he calleth θεῖον λόγον, ἢ θεοῦ λόγον, *the Divine Word, or the Word of God*, εἰκόνα θεοῦ, *the Image of God*. And he says further of it, that it is, ὑπερμεγέθη ἀστέρα, πηγὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φώτων, *a super-celestial Star; the fountain of all the sensible* [or visible] *Luminaries*. And he had said in the former Page (*d*), That the World was the Image of the Image, or Archetypal Exemplar, of the *Logos* of God.

a *Euseb. de Præp. Evang.* l. 11. c. 15. p. 533. *de secundo Principio ex Philone.*

b *Philo* (*in lib. de Profugis.* p. 466. B. C.) says the High-Priest is not a man, but Gods *Logos* clothed with the four Elements, *&c.*

c *Philo de Mundi Opificio*, p. 6. C.

d *Id.* p. 5. C.

PART. 3.

Of the Shechinah *of God from* Adam *to* Noah.

THis Substitute and *Shechinah* of God made *Adam*, and he that gave him his Being gave him most probably the Law of it. For so the Fathers interpret that in St. *John*, *The Word was God. That* [or He] *was the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world* (*e*). And in this sense we are to expound St. *Justin* the Martyr, where he speaketh of the Knowledg of God in *Socrates* by the Word (*f*). He meaneth not that he was naturally a Christian; but that so far as he

e See *Origen in Com. in S. Johan.* p. 25.

f *J. Mart. Apol.* 1. p. 48. *Apol.* 2. p. 96.

he was indued with ſuch principles of Religious reaſon as Chriſtianity owneth; he had derived it from the *Logos* or Word of God, who made the World, and in it man, a reaſonable Creature. To him he appeared as well as to others, who ſprang from him, helping the mind as ſoon as it was ſeated in this thicker region of bodily fantaſms. And to *Adam* the *Logos* appeared, I know not whether I ſhould ſay in the ſhape of man or in the way of a bright cloud moving in Paradiſe when the wind began to riſe (*a*), and asking with a voice of Majeſty, after his rebellious ſubject. And that this was the Son of God is inſinuated by the *Targum* of *Onkelos* in the eighth verſe of the third of *Geneſis*. The Text of *Moſes* is thus tranſlated, *And when they* [our firſt Parents] *heard the voice of the Lord God.* But this is the ſenſe of the words of *Onkelos*, *And they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord God.*

a Gen. 3. 8, 9.

And amongſt Chriſtian Writers I may alledg *Tertullian* (*b*), and St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers* (*c*), who aboundeth in this Argument; as alſo *Theophilus Antiochenus* (*d*), whoſe words are ſo pertinent that I cannot forbear the enlarging of my diſcourſe with the tranſlation of them: "You will object (ſaid *Theophilus*) that I "teach, that God cannot be circumſcribed; and yet "that I ſay too, that God walked in Paradiſe. Hear "the anſwer I make to this Objection. God indeed "and the Father of all things is neither ſhut up in a "place, nor found in it. For no place is there in which "God can [in ſuch manner] dwell. In the mean time "his Word by which he made all things, being the "Power and Wiſdom of the Father himſelf, perſona-"ting the Father who is Lord of all, came into Para-"diſe in his Perſon, and ſpake unto *Adam*, who in the "Scripture is ſaid to have heard the voice of God. "Now Gods voice, what is it elſe but the very *Logos*

b *Tert. adv. Prax.* Sect. 16. p. 509.
c *Hil. Pict. de Trin.* l. 12. p. 315.
d *Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol.* p. 99, 100.

" (or Word) of God, which is likewiſe his Son. After *Adam* was driven out of Paradiſe, the *Logos* appointed a kind of *Shechinah* in the appearance of Angels to guard the way of the Tree of Life. Theſe I conceive were a *Cherub* and a *Saraph*, and that the latter (an Angel in the opinion of *Maimonides* himſelf*) was meant by the flaming-ſword turning every way; the verſatile tayl of a *Saraph* or flame-like winged Serpent, not being unaptly ſo called. And this conceit when I come to explain my ſelf about *Urim*, and the brazen Serpent, will ſeem leſs extravagant than now it may do in this naked Propoſal. And yet as 'tis thus propoſed, 'tis not ſo idle as that of Pſeudo-*Anſelm* (*a*), who will have this guard to be a Wall of Fire incompaſſing Paradiſe. In proceſs of time, when *Cain* and *Abel* offered to God their Euchariſtical Sacrifices, the Son of God again appeared as Gods *Shechinah*; and teſtified it may be his gracious acceptance of the Sacrifice of *Abel* by ſome ray of flame ſtreaming from that glorious viſible Preſence, and re-acting to it; whilſt he ſhewed himſelf not pleaſed with the offering of *Cain* by forbearing (as I conjecture) to ſhine on his ſheaves, or to cauſe them to aſcend, ſo much as in ſmoke towards Heaven. And with this conjecture agreeth the Tranſlarion of *Theodotion* in theſe words, ἐπέβλεψεν δὲ κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας Αβὶλ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, *and* [the Lord] *had reſpect to the oblations of* Abel, *and ſet them on fire*. That ſeemeth to be the moſt ancient way of anſwering by Fire, ſome obſcure characters of which we may diſcern in that lamp of fire which paſſed betwixt the pieces of *Abrahams* Sacrifice (*b*). And much plainer footſteps of it are to be ſeen in the conteſt of *Elijah* with the Prophets of *Baal*, whom that true Prophet of the God of *Iſrael* vanquiſhed by that ſign, triumphing alſo thereby over that falſe Deity which they ſo vainly and with Battologie invoked (*c*).

* *Maimon. Mo. re Neb.* Part. 1. c. 49. p. 73. *per Labat ibi intelligitur Angelus qui iſt inſtar flammæ.*

a *Anſelmi Elucidar.* c. 15. p. 461. *Gladius fuit ignius murus*, &c.

b Gen. 15. 17.

c See *Hom. Il.* 2. *V.* 353. of *Jove* lightning on the right-hand in token of his favour. ἐσχέδιον ἐπὶ δεξί' ἀνάσσων σήματα φαίνων.

*

I doubt

I doubt not but God vouchſafed to men many other appearances of his glorious *Shechinah*, beſides thoſe granted to *Adam* and *Abel*, before he expreſſed his high reſentment of the immorality of the world in the Flood of *Noah*. But we have no large Regiſters of the Tranſactions of thoſe times.

PART 4.

Of the Shechinah *of God from* Noah *to* Moſes.

THis eminent declaration of God as a God of judgment, by ſending ſuch a deluge, not having its due effect on *Cham:* God with great juſtice withdrew (as I conceive) this glorious *Shechinah* from him and his Line, which continued his wickedneſs as well as his name. From them he withdrew it eſpecially; though to the reſt it appeareth not to have been a common favour. *Cham* and his race being thus left to the vanity of their own brutiſh minds, that race in the firſt place worſhipped the Sun as the Tabernacle of the Deity; that being the object which next to Gods *Shechinah*, did paint in the brain an Image of the moſt venerable luſter, and perhaps likeſt to that glorious flame of Gods *Shechinah* which had formerly appeared; for ſo glorious was that Planet in the eyes of the very *Manichees* in after-times, that they eſteemed it the ſeat of Chriſt after his Aſcenſion and Inſtallment in Heaven.

I have gueſſed already, that this kind of Idolatry was exerciſed and with deſign promoted at the building of the Tower of *Babel*. Now towards the prevention of that impious deſign the *Shechinah* of God appeared on the place. For ſo *Novatianus* argueth from thoſe words in the Eleventh of *Geneſis* (*a*), *Let us go down.* "It could not (ſaid he (*b*)) be God the Father, for "his Eſſence is not circumſcribed; nor yet an Angel, "for

a Gen. 11. 7.

b *Novat. de Trin.* cap. 25. p. 723.

* Deut. 32. 8. " for it is ſaid in *Deuteronomy* *, *That the moſt high di-*
" *vided the Nations.* It was therefore he that came
" down, of whom St. *Paul* ſaith, *He who deſcended is*
" *he who aſcended above all Heavens.* So that the *Ara-*
* Gen. 11. 5, &c. *bick* Verſion [the Angels came down *] muſt be interpreted of that part of the *Shechinah* which is made up by their attendance on the Son of God.

Whilſt God was thus angry with the race of *Cham*, it pleaſed him to vouchſafe (though not in the quality of a daily favour) the appearance of his *Shechinah* to that ſeparate or holy ſeed from whence his Son, not yet incarnate, was to take the ſubſtance of his fleſh. A great Inſtance of it we have in the appearanee which he vouchſafed to *Abraham*, who often ſaw the *Shechinah* of God, and in that manner communed with him: ſo great was the ignorance of the *Jews*, and cauſleſs their malice when they raged againſt the Son of God, becauſe he profeſſed himſelf to have exiſted before that ancient Patriarch. Such fall under the heavy ſentence of the Council called at *Sirmium*, a City of the lower *Pannonia*, where the Eaſtern Biſhops concluded on a Creed againſt *Photinus*, who Hæretically maintained, That Chriſt appeared not before he was born of the Virgin. Of that Creed this is one of the Decretory
a *Socrat.* l. 2. c. 30. p. 123. & *Hilar. Pict. de Syn.* p. 373. & *Athan. de Syn.* p. 693. clauſes (*a*), *Whoſoever ſaith that the unbegotten Father only was ſeen to* Abraham, *and not the Son, let him be accurſed.* The ſecond Chapter of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Euſebius* is wholly ſpent in the proof of the Pre-exiſtence of Chriſt. And in that place, as alſo in
b *Euſeb. de Dem. Evang.* l. 5. c. 9. p. 233, 234. his Book of Evangelical Demonſtration (*b*), he inſiſteth, amongſt many other Examples, on that of *Abraham*, to whom Almighty God did once by his Son ſhew himſelf a while in the common ſimilitude of a man at the Oak of *Mamre*; the *Shechinah* in its eſpecial luſter being for a ſhort ſeaſon intercepted.

That

That Place, from this occaſion, was for many ages eſteemed ſacred; ſo high a reſpect there is in man for the viſible preſence of a Divine Power. But ſuch things being apt to degenerate into abuſe, the ſame place by degrees became ſacred in the ſenſe of the Heathens; that is, polluted with many idolatrous ſuperſtitions (*a*). At length the Piety of *Conſtantine* (*b*) the Great, did there erect a Church for the worſhip of Chriſt, who had appeared in that place in a like form (they ſay) to that which he afterwards aſſumed with perſonal union. Another appearance was vouchſaf'd to *Abraham*, when the Judgment of Fire was imminent over *Sodom*. *Moſes* witneſſeth, That he who revealed this overthrow to the *Patriarch*, was truly God, whilſt he introduceth *Abraham* uſing towards him the Divine ſtyle of *the Judg of all the earth*; and that this Lord and Judg was the Son of God (whom the Father hath appointed to judg the world), *Euſebius* (*c*) thinketh he hath warrant to ſay from the words of the ſame *Moſes*. For ſo the Father interprets the Prophet when he ſpeaks (*d*) of this Lord [the Word, the ſenſible deſcending *Shechinah*] raining from the Lord (or inviſible Father) fire and brimſtone out of Heaven [or the Region of the Clouds]. And in this particular the Council of *Sirmium* (*e*) is ſo peremptory and ſo ſevere, that it anathematizeth all who affirm thoſe words [*The Lord rained from the Lord*] to have been ſpoken, not of the Father and the Son, but of the Father raining from himſelf that dreadful fire and brimſtone.

This Lord then, is the ſame with him of whoſe appearance we read in the Chap. 17. of *Geneſis*. It is ſaid in the 22 verſe of that Chapter, *That God went up from Abraham*; ſo runs the *Hebrew* Text. But the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt calleth him who aſcended, *Fulgur Dei*; that is, the luſter of the Divine *Shechinah* drawn up, as it were,

a *Id. ibid.* p. 234.
b *Sozom. Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 4. p. 447, 448.
c *Euſeb. in Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 7. *And Juſt. Mart. in Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 375. C.
d *Gen.* 19. 24.
e *Socrat.* l. 2. c. 30. p. 132.

were, towards the firmament of Heaven.

Of the appearance of Three in human ſhape to *Abraham*, St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers* diſcourſeth at large (*f*). And in that Diſcourſe he contendeth, That the perſon to whom *Abraham* did particularly addreſs himſelf, calling him his Lord, was the Son of God, attended then only but with two viſible Angels. And this interpretation ſeemeth more probable than that of S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (*g*), who becauſe three appeared, and *Abraham* ſpake as unto one, concludeth thence an Apparition of the Trinity in Unity. The ſame S. *Hilary* (*h*) conceiveth the ſame Lord to have formerly appear'd to *Hagar*, whom he obſerveth to give to him the like titles of Lord and God (*i*); and to have receiv'd from him (*k*) the promiſe of a numberleſs off-ſpring. *Moſes* himſelf, before he mentions theſe titles given by *Hagar*, had indeed call'd him who appear'd to her (*l*) by the name of an Angel, or the Meſſenger or Officer of the Lord. But even that name, if ſpoken with emphaſis, is not improperly aſcribed to the ſecond Perſon or *Logos*, who was the *Shilo* (that is, as *Grotius* doth interpret it) the ſent of God (*m*). Of the name Angel there given to the *Shechinah*, S. *Hilary* delivers his opinion after this manner (*n*): "To *Agar* (ſaith he) "ſpake the Angel of God. And he was both God and "Angel, God of God; and called Angel, as being the "Angel of the Great Council (*o*). So he is called (ſaith *Tertullian* (*p*) and ſtyled a Meſſenger, not as a name deſigning his Nature, but his Office. And they are ſuperficially skill'd in *Philo* the *Jew*, who know not that he calls the *Logos* both Gods Image and his Angel (*q*). *Juſtin Martyr* alſo ſheweth to *Trypho* the *Jew*, that the God who appeared to *Abraham* (*r*), was the Miniſter of the Univerſal Creator; and he afterwards (*ſ*) gives this as the reaſon why the Word is call'd an Angel; to wit, that he may be known to be the Miniſter or Subſtitute

f *Hil. de Tr.* l. 4. p. 66, 67, 68, 85 *And Euſeb. in* l. 5. c. 9. *Dem. Evang* p. 234.
g *Cyr. Alex. contra Julian.* l. 1. p. 20.
h *De Trin.* p 66
i *Gen.* 16. 13.
k *Gen.* 16. 10.
l *Ver.* 7.
m *See Grot. on Gen.* 49. 10. *Siloh* ἀπεσταλμένος, &c.
n *Hil.* l. 4. *de Trin.* p 66. *& Novat.* c. 26. p. 724.
o *See J. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 301. and *Iſa.* 9. 6. for this, there, is the reading of the LXX. follow'd by the Fathers. μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος. *See Cyr. Alex. Theſaur.* Tom 5. p 116.
p *Tert. de Carne Chriſti.* ſect. 14. p. 319. *dictus iſt quidem magni conſilii Angelus, ideſt nuncius, officii, non naturæ vocabulo.*
q *See Philo de Somn.* &c. and *J. Mart. dial. cum Typh.* p. 357. and his *Apol.* 2. p. 95.
r *J. Mart. dial.* p. 356.
ſ *Id. ib.* p. 357.

ſtitute of the Father of all things. *Juſtin Martyr* might here have reſpect to the words of St. *Paul* (*f*), who teacheth that all things are of the Father, and by the Son.

f 1 Cor. 8. 6.

The Son was that Angel of God who ſtrove with, and bleſſed the Patriarch *Jacob*. Hence *Jacob* in grateful memory of that bleſſing, call'd the place *Peniel*, having there ſeen the Face, that is, the *Shechinah* or Image of God, perſonated by the *Logos* his Son. That *Shechinah*, though it appeared without human figure, might not unfitly be called the Face, becauſe it was that Divine Preſence, to the Majeſty of which (as to the Face of a Prince) the religious ſubjects of the true God, made their application. This, again, is the opinion of *Euſebius* (*a*), and St. *Hilary* (*b*), and *Juſtin Martyr* (*c*); our three former witneſſes. This laſt-named Father telleth *Trypho* the *Jew*, "That it was the "Son of God who appear'd both to *Abraham* and *Ja-* "*cob*; and that it was abſurd to think the Immenſity "of the Godhead, leaving the Heavens, ſhould it ſelf "appear in a narrow and limited ſpace on earth. And the forementioned Fathers of the Council of *Sirmium* (*d*), denounced in their Creed a ſolemn Curſe againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain that it was the unbegotten Father, and not the Son, who ſtrove with *Jacob*.

a *Euſeb. in Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 7. and in *Demonſtr. Evang.* l. 5. c. 10. p. 235. &c.
b *Hil. de Trin.* l. 4. p. 69, 70.
c *J. Mart. dial. cum Tryph.* p. 355, 356, 358.
d *Symb. Syrm. ap. Hil. de Syn.* p. 373. & *Socr. Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 2. c. 30. p. 123. *Sic Novat. de Trin.* c. 27. p. 725. And Gen. 31. 11, 13. the Angel ſaid, *I am the God of Bethel*, &c.

Whilſt God by ſuch appearances as theſe, encouraged true Religion in the holy Line, the ungodly Race, eſpecially of *Cham*, did further blot out the Image of God, by receiving the impreſſions of numberleſs Idols, of which ſome excelled others; but none were worthy the veneration they paid to them. The Idols which admitted of much better apology than many of their fellows, and which approached nigheſt the *Shechinah* of God on earth when figured, were mighty Potentates

tates and Benefactors. And so the Author of that Book *de Mundo*, which hath been commonly ascribed to *Aristotle*, representeth God (*a*) as some Puissant King of *Persia*, sitting in his Royal Palace at *Susa* or *Ecbatane*, and giving Laws to all *Asia*, and receiving intelligence of all its affairs. Besides this more generous Idolatry, there were many other kinds, and those so apparently ridiculous, that barely to repeat them were in effect to deride the Nations guilty of them.

(a) *Auth. lib. de Mundo Inter op. Aristot.* p. 860.

Amongst other places *Egypt* was the nursery of these Follies. There every thing which could help or hurt, or represent, and be assumed by a Dæmon, or acted by one of his Impostures, was conceived to have in it a Divine power, and received Religious worship. The Rains of *Æthiopia* swell their River, and break over into fruitfulness; and the *Nile* is straitway a God. Some natural or political cause preventeth or removeth some annoyance, and the effect is ascribed with Divine Praises, to the vain and insufficient (*b*) *Talisman* [for as *Jamblicus* speaking professedly of their Mysteries, doth inform us, They conceived a Divine Power, able to procure or prevent good and evil, did straightway adjoin it self to that piece of matter, which was congruously chosen and figured according to some Cœlestial aspect]. The Constellations are by fancy (and such as is sometimes injudicious enough) formed into the shapes of certain Creatures on earth; and those Creatures are worshipped after having been supposed either eminently to contain the virtues, or with singular perception, to be sensible of the operations of such knots of Stars.

(b) See *Reyn. de Idol. Eccl. Rom.* l. 2. c. 3. p. 476, 477, &c.

The seed of *Abraham* sojourning in this Land, which abounded with Idols, and with a great number of external rites, and being by custom very prone to them, and as it were moulded into a ritual temper; it pleased

ed that God who condeſcendeth ſometimes as an indulgent Father to liſp with Infants, to conſider their infirmity when he led them out of bondage by the hand of *Moſes*. He therefore by the ſame *Moſes* gave to that people ſuch an Oeconomy [a diſpenſation containing a viſible *Shechinah*, and a great many Ceremonies] as might innocently gratifie their buſie tempers, and ſenſitive inclinations, and divert them from the worſhip of falſe gods, and from thoſe abominable formalities with which in *Egypt* thoſe Idols were obſerved. This if it needeth to be avouched by authority, after a ſerious view of the ſtate of *Egypt* and *Iſrael*, in their parallel and diſparity; I may cite to my purpoſe that excellent Interpreter of the Scriptures St. *Chryſoſtome*. (*a*) "At what time (ſaid he) God delivered the *He-*
"*brew* people from the *Egyptian* troubles, and barba-
"rous tyranny of *Pharaoh*; ſeeing them ſtill to retain
"the Relicks of Impiety, and to be addicted even to
"madneſs, to all things which fall under the ſenſes;
"and to be ſtruck with the admiration of beautiful
"Temples; he himſelf commanded that a Temple
"ſhould be made for them, excelling and obſcuring all
"others, not only in the magnificence of the matter,
"and variety of art; but alſo in the form of its ſtru-
"cture. And as a good Father who has at length re-
"ceived a Son returning to him after much time ſpent
"in diſſolute company, does with honour and ſafety,
"put him into circumſtances of greater abundance,
"leſt being reduced to any ſtraits, he calls to mind his
"former pleaſures of debauchery, and be afreſh affe-
"cted with a deſire of them: So God perceiving the
"*Jews* infected moſt ſottiſhly with propenſeneſs to ſen-
"ſible things, does in theſe very things make ſome-
"thing for them highly excellent, that they might ne-
"ver for the future linger after the *Egyptians*, or after

(*a*) *S. Chryſ.* Tom. 5. *Op. in Nativ. Chriſti.* p. 422.

"the things of which they had experience, whilſt "they ſojourned amongſt them.

PART 5.

Of the Shechinah *of God from* Moſes *to the Captivity.*

BEfore this Temple was built or ſhewn, ſo much as in the model of it to *Moſes*, the Word of God (*a*) aſſuming an Angel, appeared to him in the luſter of flame in a buſh on Mount *Horeb*. *Moſes* calleth him in the ſecond verſe of the third of *Exodus*, *the Angel of God*; and *God* in verſe the fourth; and in the ſixth verſe he ſtileth himſelf the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; and in the eighth verſe he is ſaid to have deſcended. "Now he (ſaith *Juſtin Martyr* (*b*)) that called himſelf the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, was not the Univerſal Creator, but the miniſter of his will. With him agree *Euſebius* (*c*), St. *Hilary* (*d*), and St. *Ambroſe* (*e*). The words of St. *Ambroſe* are to this ſenſe: "The God himſelf who was ſeen by *Moſes*, "ſaith, my name is God. This is the Son of God who "is therefore called both Angel and God, that he "might not be thought to be he of whom are all "things; but he by whom are all things. *Philo* the *Jew* himſelf * calleth the Voice to *Adam*, to *Abraham*, to *Jacob*, to *Moſes* from the Buſh, the effect of the *Logos* of God.

This Lord afterwards when the people of *Iſrael* had under the Conduct of *Moſes*, begun their Journey from *Egypt*, did miraculously direct them by the continued *Shechinah* of a Pillar (*f*) of cloud by day, and of fire by night. This we read in the 13*th* of *Exodus*. He who in that Chapter is called the Lord, is in the following Chapter (*g*) called the Angel of God, who as formerly he had gone before the Camp for their Guidance,

a See *Juſt. Martyr in* Apol. 2. p. 95.

b *Id. ibid.* p. 96. and in his *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 356. B.

c *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 7, 8.

d *S. Hil. de Trin.* p. 70, 71.

e *S. Ambroſ.* Tom. 4. *Op.* p. 222. See *Athan. contra Arianos. Orat.* 4. p. 467. A. B.

* *Philo de vitâ Moſis*, p. 594, 595.

f Exod. 13. 21, 22.

g Exod. 14. 19.

Guidance, ſo now the *Egyptians* purſuing, he ſtood behind it as their defence. With alluſion to this appearance *Euſebius* having firſt propoſed it as the Title of his Chapter (*a*), "That the *Logos* of old appeared, "and then began the Chapter with ſome places of "Scripture relating to the cloudy Pillar: he proceedeth in making this demand, "Who was he that "ſpake, but the Pillar of Cloud which had formerly "appeared to the Fathers in the figure of Man? And indeed whilſt *Moſes* is not contented with the promiſe of an aſſiſtant-Angel (*b*), but expreſly petitioneth for the continuance of Gods Preſence; he leaveth not us in want of a Commentator to tell us what kind of Angel was preſent with him. That Angel no doubt it was who is called by that name in the *Hebrew* of the *6th* Verſe of the *5th* of *Eccleſiaſtes*, but by the Seventy Interpreters, *the Face of God* (*c*). *Lactantius* will have this Angel to have gone before the *Iſraelites*, and divided the Waters (*d*). His Power might do it, but that his *Shechinah* did ſo, is contrary to the Sacred Text (*e*).

a *Euſeb. de demonſtr. Evang.* l. 5. c. 14. p. 241.

b See Exod. 33. 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. compar'd with Chap. 23. v. 21, 22, 23.

c Eccl. 5. 6.—μὴ ἔναντι ἀγγέλου ὅτι σφάλμα ἐστὶ Θεοῦ.——

d *Lactant. de vera Sap.* l. 4. p. 374.

The people being arrived nigh Mount *Sina* in *Arabia*, *Moſes* eſpecially beheld the *Shechinah* of God, whilſt the Word aſſuming, it may be a principal Angel, and being attended (as *Jupiter* by his Satellites, if I may compare ſmall things with great) by a numerous retinue of other bleſſed Spirits, did with ſolemnity (*f*) and terror deliver the Law.

e Exod. 14. 19, 20, 21, 22.

f Pſal. 68. 17.

Where the *Pſalmiſt* alludeth to that Solemnity in which God appeared with many Chariots of the Heavenly Hoſt; he in the very next verſe uſeth the words which the New Teſtament interpret of Chriſt, *Thou art gone up on high, thou haſt led captivity captive.* As if both at *Sinah* and *Sion*, and the Mount of the Meſſiahs Aſcenſion, God had triumphed in the *Shechinah* of

his Son. "He (ſaith *Tertullian* (*a*)) who ſpake to *Moſes*, was the Son of God, who was always ſeen. That is, whenever the Divinity vouchſafed a viſible appearance, it was not by the Father but by the Son. This *Pamelius* reckoneth as one of the Errors of *Tertullian*; but by doing ſo, he perhaps ran into one himſelf. *Tertullian* doth not only affirm this, but ſecondeth his Authority with a reaſon. For *Jeſus*, ſaid he, not *Moſes*, was to introduce the people into *Canaan*. *Theodoret* in his Commentary on the ſecond to the *Coloſſians*, mentioneth certain defenders of the Law, who induced others to worſhip Angels, ſaying that the Law was given by them. They had been much more in the right if they had urged the worſhip of Chriſt the Angel of that Covenant. The Law was given by Angels in the hand of a Mediator (*b*), which whether it be meant of *Moſes* or of Chriſt, is a diſpute amongſt many; though the margent of ſome of our *Engliſh* Bibles (*c*) interpreteth it of the former. That Title might have been as well applied to Chriſt, not yet God-man, yet the Miniſter of the Father. And ſo St. *Chryſoſtome* and *Theophylact* do apply it. And St. *Chryſoſtome* teacheth that therefore Chriſt gave the Law, that he might have Authority, when it was convenient, to put an end to it. And they who ſtiffly oppoſe ſuch Miniſtration of the *Logos*, give ſuſpicion to jealous heads, as if they look'd towards *Racovia*. For if there were a ſecond Perſon, he ſurely muſt be fit for that great Office. But I forbear to urge a place of uncertain ſenſe, and chuſe rather to conſider what the ſame Apoſtle ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle (*d*) to the *Corinthians*. He there ſaith, concerning the *Iſraelites*, that they tempted Chriſt in the Wilderneſs. And this Chriſt whom they tempted, is in the Old Teſtament called *Jehovah*. Hence therefore it followeth, that he who appear'd to the

a *Tertull. Adverſ. Judæos*, p. 194. B

b Gal. 3. 19.

c In Quarto, *Lond.* 1610.

d 1 Cor. 10. 9.

the people in the Wilderneſs was the *Logos* of God.

This opinion which aſcribeth to the *Logos* the delivery of the Law, is by the learned *Hugo Grotius* in his Notes on the Decalogue, branded with the name of a grievous error. And it is not the manner of that great Wit to rail at Opinions without offering reaſons for his contrary judgment: and here he offereth two.

The Firſt he taketh from thoſe firſt words of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*: *God who at divers times, and in divers manners ſpake to our forefathers by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt times ſpoken to us by his Son.*

The Second he taketh from the ſecond and third verſes of the ſecond Chapter, in which the Holy Author preferreth the Goſpel before the Law, becauſe "the Law was given by Angels; (that is, ſaith he, by "the Angel ſuſtaining the perſon of God, and for that "reaſon mentioned by St. *Steven* (*a*) in the ſingular "number, and by many more ſuch ſpirits making up "that glorious train:) but the Goſpel by the Lord "Jeſus the Son of God. Upon the ſeeming force of ſuch Reaſons, I find *Curcellæus* (*b*) and others (*c*) agreeing in the ſentence of *Grotius*.

a Act. 7. 38.

b *Curcell. Inſtitut.* p. 40, 41.

c *Tentam. Theol.* p. 289.

Now for the firſt Objection, I may remove it out of the way by ſaying no more than that God ſpake formerly by his Son as his *Logos* or Miniſter, and in the latter times by him, as his Son Incarnate, or as begotten by the Holy Ghoſt of the ſubſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin. The ſame Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſaith of the Throne of Chriſt, as Gods *Logos*, that it was from everlaſting; and yet we well know that his Kingdom as Meſſiah, Mediator Incarnate, or the Word made fleſh, was but then at hand when his Harbinger *John* took upon him the Office of *Baptiſt*: And *Juſtin Martyr* thought not himſelf in an error,

when he ſaid (*a*), "That the *Logos* both ſpake by the "Prophets things to come, and alſo by himſelf, being "made ſubject to like infirmities with us. The Word was Gods Miniſter (*b*) before and under the Law, but not in the ſame quality as under the Goſpel. In thoſe times he ſpake not himſelf immediately; for how can a Divine Subſiſtence be, meerly of it ſelf, corporally vocal? But he ſpake (I conceive) by ſome principal Angel, aſſumed (as hath been ſaid) without perſonal union, aſſiſted by him in a miraculous motion of the air or brain. Under the Goſpel he ſpake with his own mouth, as having aſſumed human nature into unity of Perſon [This word Perſon (if I may make a digreſſion of two or three lines) deſerveth not the clamour with which *Socinians* hoot at it; eſpecially when we conſider it, as now we do, with relation to Chriſt as the προσωπον, Face, or perſonating *Shechinah* of God]. They then that rightly diſtinguiſh betwixt Chriſt as Gods Word and *Shechinah* under the former Covenants, and as Mediator and Gods Son incarnate, under the Goſpel, will not much be perplexed with ſuch places of Scripture as ſpeak ſometimes of Chriſts Præexiſtence, and oftner of his coming into the world in the fulneſs of time. And thus much *Monſieur le Blanc* himſelf taketh notice of (*c*) in his Theological Theſes: "He there favoureth the opinion of Chriſts "præexiſtence. He owneth him as the Miniſter of God "of old, but not properly as Mediator; which (he "ſaith) including Chriſts Prieſtly Office, did of neceſ- "ſity require not only a miſſion of one Divine Perſon "by another, but a Divine Perſon incarnate.

a *Juſt. Mart.* in *Apol.* 1. p. 48, 49.

b *Tertul. de Reſurrect. Carn.* Sect. 51. p. 357. *Jſus — Adam noviſſimus, etſi ſermo primarius.* And *adverſ. Prax.* p. 509. *— conſtat tum ſemper viſum ab Initio, Qui viſus fuerat in fine,* &c.

c *Le Blanc* in *Theſi an Chriſtus ſit mtd. ſec. nat. hum. & div.* ſect. 23. p. 812.

Now from that which I have ſuggeſted in this anſwer to the firſt Objection of *Grotius*, it will be a matter of ſmall difficulty to infer a Reply unto his ſecond. For an aſſumed Angel being us'd by the Divine *Logos*

as

as the immediate Miniſter of himſelf to the people, and Chriſt ſpeaking with his own mouth under the Goſpel as God-man; and the great myſtery of the Goſpel conſiſting in the manifeſtation of God in the fleſh; the Apoſtle had ſufficient reaſon to prefer the Goſpel before the Law. We have before us a matter of leſſer aſtoniſhment, when we think of Divinity ſpeaking by an Angel to which it is not vitally united, than when we contemplate it as manifeſting it ſelf in the quality of God-man, in unity of Perſon with human nature. Such were the thoughts of St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers* (a), who in our preſent Argument thus diſcourſeth: "Then "God only was ſeen in [the ſhew of] man: He was "not born. Now he who was ſeen, is alſo born. For *Athanaſius* (b), he contendeth that Chriſt was call'd the Son long before he was incarnate; and that *Moſes* himſelf knew of the future Incarnation, as well as he ſaw the preſent Appearance of the unincarnate *Logos*.

a *Hil. Pict. de Trin.* l. 4. p. 85.

b *S. Athan. op.* *Vol.* 1. p. 86. and p. 537. B.

I conclude then, notwithſtanding theſe Objections, That there is almoſt as good warrant for reading the Preface to the Decalogue in this manner [*Chriſt ſpake all theſe words, and ſaid*] as the ancient *Saxon* Prefacer (c) had thus to read, as he does, that part of the fourth Commandment [*For in ſix days Chriſt made the Heaven and the Earth*]. God, who by his *Logos* gave all Phyſical Laws to Nature, did alſo by the ſame Word give the Moral Law to *Iſrael*. "In the beginning of that "Law (ſaith St. *Auſtin* (d) God prohibited the wor- "ſhip of any Image, beſides one, the ſame with him- "ſelf; that is to ſay, the *Logos* his Son, whom *Moſes* ſaw; it being promiſed to him (e), that God ſhould apparently converſe with him, and that he ſhould behold the ſimilitude or Image, or, as the Seventy render it, τὴν δόξαν, the Glory, or glorious *Shechinah* of God.

c *Præf. ante Leges Alfr. ad calcem Eccl. Hiſt. Hexmonis.*

d *Aug. Epiſt.* 119.

e Numb. 12. 8.

Whe-

Whether, at the giving of the Law, *Moſes* ſaw the *Shechinah* in human figure, his Text does not inform us; yet it doth not neceſſarily follow, that *Moſes* or *Aaron* ſaw no figure, becauſe the people did not. For there was much more danger in them who had had the education of ſlaves, and who labour'd under groſs and ſenſitive apprehenſions, than there was in *Moſes* a Learned and Prudent perſon, of abuſing ſuch ſimilitude in the framing of Idols: and one would think that at
a Exod. 33. 23. the receiving of the Tables (*a*) he ſaw ſomething in human figure; for he is ſaid to have ſeen the back-parts of God, or his *Shechinah*, or the ſhew of a man inverted, or rather a leſs degree of luſter in the *Shechinah*; neither he nor any man living being able to behold the face or full luſter of it, which perhaps might then appear to the attending-Angels. So that the deſire of *Moſes* was, in effect, like that of *Eudoxus*, who deſir'd to ſee the Sun juſt by him. If it ſhould have been granted, he muſt have pay'd down his life as the expence of his curioſity. And indeed the ſeeing of the Face of God in that ſenſe, was, at that ſeaſon, the leſs neceſſary, becauſe God had, juſt then, made a pro-
b Exod. 33. 14 miſe of his *Shechinah*, or preſence, in the Tabernacle (*b*) to go along with him, and to ſupport him againſt the incredulity of the people, to whoſe eyes, ſuch a *Shechinah* as they could bear, was in wiſdom to be accommodated.

Whilſt *Moſes* was beholding this Pattern in the Mount, and receiving Laws from the Preſence of God, the people ſeeing neither, as at his departure they had
c Exod. 24. 16, 17. done (*c*); the Glory of God in Clouds and Flame; nor, as in the Wilderneſs, the Pillar of Fire and Cloud; nor himſelf whom they judg'd a cauſe of the *Shechinah* of God with them; and remaining forty days and forty nights in this forſaken eſtate, as they were apt to think it,

it, importun'd *Aaron* for ſome ſymbol of Gods Preſence, with which he might conduct them, as *Moſes* had done in former times. *Aaron* wearied with their Cries, made them a Golden Image after the manner of ſome part of Gods *Shechinah* which he had ſeen with *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the Seventy Elders, in a certain aſcent of the Mount (*a*). He ſaw then the God of *Iſrael*, that is, as the Seventy expound the *Hebrew* ſenſe, τὸν τόπον, the place, or the Throne; or as the *Targum* of *Onkelos* renders it, the Glory, or *Shechinah* of God; not, as *Oleaſter* affirmeth, the Pavement only, which is mentioned afterward. And in the *Shechinah* there was an appearance of Angels; the Author to the *Hebrews*, where he oppoſeth the Goſpel to the Law in divers particulars (*b*), mentioning an innumerable company of Angels, in oppoſition to a ſmaller company on Mount *Sinah*. The attending-Angels were uſually Cherubim (*c*), and the Cherubim appear'd with heads like thoſe of Oxen; and becauſe the head only was of that likeneſs (*d*), therefore (if I conjecture aright) *Lactantius* (*e*) and St. *Jerome* (*f*) call'd this Golden Image the Golden head of a Calf. This I conceive to have been the figure of a Cherub, though it pleaſeth not the Painter, who deſcribeth it by the Face of a young round-viſag'd man. Thus much I collect from the Prophet *Ezekiel*. That Prophet, in the viſion of the wheels (*g*), ſaith of them, That every one had four Faces. The firſt Face was the Face of a Cherub; and the ſecond Face was the Face of a man; and the third the Face of a Lyon; and the fourth, the Face of an Eagle. If then the Face of a Cherub was the Face of a man, then each wheel had not four differing Faces, but one had two Faces of human Figure, the ſecond being ſaid to be the Face of a man, as the firſt was ſaid to be the Face of a Cherub. But if theſe two had been

a Exod. 24. 1, 9, 10, 11. *comp. with* Exod. 19. 21, 23.

b Heb. 12. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

c Ezek. 9. 3.

d See Ezek. c. 1. & 10.

e *Lactant. de vera ſap.* l. 4. p. 376. *Aurum caput bovis figuratum.*

f *S. Hieron. Comment. in* 4. *Hoſ.*

g *Ezek.* 10. 14. *See R. Sal. Franco's* Truth ſpringing out of the earth, p. 15.

been alike, the Prophet would then have alter'd his ſtyle, and ſaid, The firſt two Faces were the Faces of a man. But it is evident, by comparing this place in
Ezek. 1. 10. *Ezekiel*, with the tenth verſe of the firſt Chapter, that the Face of a Cherub is the Face of an Ox. For there he mentions the three latter Faces, as he doth here, calling them the Faces of a Man, a Lyon, an Eagle: but for the other Face, called here the Face of a Cherub, he calleth it there the Face of an Ox. And the comparing of theſe places, induced the Learned Critick
a Lud. de dieu. in Epiſt. ad D. Guil. Boſwell, inter Op. doctiſſ. Midi, p. 704. *Ludovicus de dieu* (*a*) to be of this opinion, that Cherub ſignifi'd an Ox, and was derived from the *Chaldee* word *Cherub*, He, or It, hath plowed. Now by the worſhipping of this Figure of the Face of a Cherub or Ox, the ſottiſh people chang'd their Glory (*b*), the
c Pſal. 106. 19. glorious Image or *Shechinah* of God (call'd, as was even now ſaid, δόξα, by the Seventy, in the 12th of *Numbers*) into the ſimilitude of a man, though uſeful creature; whoſe likeneſs could, at beſt, be but the ſymbol of an Angel, which was no more to the *Shechinah* of God (nor ſo much by a great deal), as one ſpoke of a wheel is to an Eaſtern Emperor in a triumphant Cha-
d Jer. 2. 11. riot. They turn'd their Glory (ſaith *Jeremiah* (*c*)) into a thing which did not profit them, *in Idolum*, into an Idol (as is the verſion of the Vulgar *Latine*); a helpleſs ſtatue. They turned the Truth of God (as
e Rom. 1. 23. it is in St. *Paul* (*d*) into a Lye: The true *Shechinah* of God, into an Idol, which is vanity, nothing of that which it pretendeth to be; having no Divinity attending on it. *Aaron* made it as Gods ſymbol, which in truth it was not; and the people worſhip'd it beyond his intention, and after the *Egyptian* manner; and in their hearts wiſhing they were again in that Land of Ceremonious Idolatry. This folly kindled the wrath of God and *Moſes*; yet it did not quite remove his favour:

vour: for *Moses* was a second time call'd up into the Mount, and thence he brought the renewed Tables and the Statutes of *Israel*, and the pattern of the Tabernacle; and at his descent, Rays of glorious Light did stream from his face, as if he had been a second *Shechinah*, reflecting the borrow'd beams of the first.

The Tabernacle which God had now discover'd, and which *Moses* was ready to frame, was but a model of the Temple built many years after by the Magnificent *Solomon*. And in it God gave the people, instead of the more ænigmatical and idle Hieroglyphicks of the World in *Egypt*, a more excellent Scheme of it in this great and typical Fabrick, representing, in the three spaces of it, the three Heavens, which the *Jews* so often speak of, the Elementary, and Starry, and Supercœlestial Regions. St. *Chrysostom* (*a*) speaking of this workmanship of God, calleth it the Image of the whole World both sensible and intellectual. And he attempteth the justification of his Notion, by the 9*th* to the *Hebrews*, and particularly by the 24*th* verse, in which the holy places made with hands, are call'd *the figures of the true or heavenly places.*

a *S. Chrys. in Hom. de Nativ. vol. 5. op.* p. 422. ποιεῖται τὸν ναὸν πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς, τοῦ τε αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νοητοῦ.

In this manner, then, God pleas'd to help the imaginations of the *Jews*, by a visible scheme of his throne and footstool. It were endless here to take particular notice of all things relating to the Tabernacle or Temple: but if I take not the Ark into my especial consideration, I shall be guilty of greater negligence than any foolish *Astronomer*, who in his description of the Heavens should leave out the Sun.

This Ark of the Covenant consider'd in all the appendages of it, God vouchsafed to the *Jews* in place of all the Statues, or Creatures, or appearances of Dæmons, which their fancy was apt to adore, and in which Dæmons did already, or might afterwards coun-

terfeit some shews of the glorious *Shechinah* of God. "Men (saith *Maimonides**) built Temples to the Stars, "and placed in them some Image dedicated to this or "the other Idol in the Heavens, and gave it unanimous "worship. Hence God commanded that a Temple "should be built to himself, and that the Ark should "be put into it, and that in the Ark should be depo-"sited the Two Tables of stone, in which it was writ-"ten, *I am the Lord thy God; and thou shalt have no* "*other Gods besides me.* The whole of it was in singular manner typical of God-man, who came to destroy the works of the Devil. This virtue of Christ appearing on the Ark was manifested in the miraculous conquest of it over *Dagon* (*a*), a Sea-god worshipped in *Palestine* in the City of *Ashdod*. He fell before the Ark, and laid on the ground a handless and headless Idol, without more shew of Majesty, Power or Wisdom than the Trunk of a Tree.

* *Maim. in Mort Nev.* par. 3. c 45. p. 475.

a 1 Sam. 5. 4.

This Ark was not in it self properly an Image, but a Chest over-laid with Gold as a Conservatory of the precious κοιμήλια of the Two Tables. Yet thereby God by way of Hieroglyphick, though not of Image or Picture of representation, did offer himself to the eye as a supreme Governour ruling the Commonwealth of *Israel* by a written Law. This *Moncæus* (*b*) would have to be taken from the Σορὸν, the Chest or Coffin of *Apis*, mentioned by *Plutarch* (*c*). But that was a thing of later date, and not known to the ancient *Egyptians*. It belonged to the Greek *Serapis*, who is said thence to take his name.

b *Moncæus in Aar. purg. ap. Crit. maj.* p. 4428.

c *Plutarc. de Iside*, p. 362. C.

* *Philo de Profugis.* p. 465. B. C ——— ὥσθ' ἡνίοχον μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυνάμεων [i. e. δυοῖν χερουβὶμ] τὸν λόγον, &c.

The whole of the Ark seems to some the Triumphant Chariot* of God moved by Angels, set forth by the form of Beasts, who drew the Chariots of the Eastern Kings: whose Pomp the Poets exalted into Heaven in the Chariots of their gods. This of the true God

God is repreſented as moving by Angels in the Clouds, not as any fixed Throne in it ſelf: the Power and Providence of God, whoſe Chariot hath Wheels with Eyes, making all the World its circle; though often it took its way to the Tabernacle and Temple. Why Cherubims were added, the cauſe hath been often intimated already; to wit, by reaſon that the *Logos* appearing as Gods *Shechinah*, was attended with Angels, and eſpecially with Cherubim. Though *Maimonides* (*d*) reckoneth the Cherubim to be of the loweſt order excepting thoſe which he calls *Iſchim*; ſuch in his conceit as ſpake to inſpired men, and were by them ſeen in Prophetical Viſions. For the entire Figure of the Cherubim, I am not deſirous to inquire with nice and accurate diligence, whether it were ſuch as the Angels uſually appeared in, or whether it were a mere Emblem of their Properties. The Scripture ſhews that they move ſwiftly, as flame and wind, and all underſtand that wings are the inſtruments of a quick motion. The Scripture alſo repreſenteth them as dazled at the Glory of God, and therefore needeth no further Comment on the Faces of the Cherubim as covered with their wings. But curiouſly to interpret each particular ſpoken of them, and of the Ark in which they were placed, is the ready way to create ſuch ſignifications by our fancy, as the wiſdom of God did never intend. Of this kind ſure is that conceit of S. *Greg. Nyſſen* (*a*), who will have the Rings of the Ark to ſignifie the Angels ſent as Rings or pledges of favour to the Heirs of Salvation. It is enough if we look upon the Ark as an holy veſſel repreſenting Gods Majeſty with his Cœleſtial Retinue, and the Rule of his Law, and as a Type of Chriſt, without forcing every ſtaff, and ring, and pin, into unnatural Allegory. And for ſome ſuch reaſon Mr. *Calvin* (*b*) did on purpoſe forbear to pry too critically into the Ark. Be-

d *Maimon. de Fund. Leg* Sect. 8. p. 18. & Sect. 9. p. 20.

a *Greg. Nyſſen. de vitâ Moyſis.* tom. 1. *Op.* p. 225.

b In 2. *Præcept.* p. 209. *minimè ſequitur*, &c.

Betwixt the Cherubims, and upon the Cover of the Ark appeared as in a Chariot of Majesty, the Divine *Logos* in admirable lustre, yet tempered with Clouds. So he appeared to the people when *Moses* was taken up into the Mount. So *Ezekiel* in his Vision (*c*) saw him in a cloud with brightness about it; and this he calls the Glory upon the Cherubims. And doubtless that Vision was in part a Vision of the Temple, though not wholly after the pattern of the Tabernacle, but as furnished by the voluntary devotion of *Solomon*, who added Oxen and Lions to the Brazen-Laver. These some think to have been steps to his future Idolatry: as if he began to allude to the Lions under the Chariot of the Sun (*d*), mentioned by *Horus Apollo*. But these Images being of servile use there was the less danger in them. Touching the appearance of the *Logos* in a cloud of brightness, we may further observe, that the Glory of God was said to have appeared in or at the Tabernacle: That in the *Psalms* (*e*) the Ark is called Gods Glory, or his καλλονὴ, (the word of the Seventy) his beautiful luster; that the same *David* speaks of having seen (*f*) δόξαν, (the word of the Seventy for Gods *Shechinah*) the Glory or radiant Presence of God in the Sanctuary. And lastly, that the Cherubims on the Ark are in the ninth Chapter to the *Hebrews* called Cherubims of Glory. Now it further appeareth, that it was the *Logos* whose Glory shone on the Ark, by the many places of Scripture which speak no otherwise of the Ark than as of the Type of God Incarnate. Christ before his Incarnation sitting on the Propitiatory as his Throne, with the Ark and Law at his feet, (for that holy Vessel is in Scripture called his footstool (*g*)), seemeth to shew himself before-hand in the Offices of King, and Prophet, and Priest. As King, whilst he sits on his Golden Throne, and exhibiteth the

c Ezek. 1.4,5. & c. 9. 3. & c. 10. 3, 4.

d See *Cuperi Harpocr.* p. 15, 16, 17. And *Porphyry*, who calls the Sun, σᾶυρον, λέοντα, δράκοντα, ἱέρακα.

e Psal. 78. 60, 61.

f Psal. 63. 2.

g Psal. 99. 5. & 132. 7. Isa. 60. 13.

the Law; as Prophet, whilſt he anſwereth when conſulted from between the Cherubims; with relation to which Oracle the *Hebrews* called the Sanctuary the houſe of Counſel (*b*); and as a Prieſt eſtabliſhing his ſeat as a Propitiatory or Mercy-ſeat. When I come in due place to ſpeak of the Word made fleſh, it will be proper to inſiſt on thoſe citations of Scripture which point him out to us as the true Ark of God. In the mean time I will content my ſelf with that one of the Apoſtle, who ſpeaking of the Myſteries of the Divine Wiſdom and Love in the Incarnation of Chriſt, alludeth manifeſtly to the Ark, and to the Faces of the Cherubim turned towards the *Shechinah*: *Which things* (ſaith he (*a*) *the Angels* [called as before was noted, the Cherubims of glory, or of the glorious Preſence of God] with flexure of curioſity *look into*. This Ark of the *Moſaick* Covenant is in the *Pſalms* (*b*) called *the Face*, that is, the *Shechinah* of God. Nay the Scripture elſewhere (*c*) giveth to it, taken entirely and together with the Preſence of the *Logos*, the very name of God.

h *Author excerpt. de Trad. Hebr. in. Paralip. inter op. S. Hieron.* Tom. 3. p. 261.

a 1 Pet. 1. 12.

b Pſal. 24. 6. & 42. 2.

c Numb. 10. 35, 36. 1 Sam. 4. 7. & 6. 20. 2 Sam. 7. 6. Pſal. 24. 7, 8. Pſal. 68. 8, 25.

God having condeſcended to his ſo eminent *Shechinah*, it was thenceforth certainly the more unlawful for the People to frame, without Divine permiſſion, any Statues of a true or a falſe God. And thereby the ſecond Command newly given, was much enforced: for how could they be confident in ſetting up any new *Shechinah*, when one was provided them by God himſelf. A *Shechinah* which did not leſſen Gods Majeſty as Images would have done in the opinion of *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (*d*), and in the judgment of truth it ſelf. For this was not any Repreſentation of the Godhead, but only a very glorious viſible ſign of Gods inviſible preſence and ready aſſiſtance.

d *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 5. p. 559.

The Ark then being neither God nor his Image, was never

never to be worſhipped, though it had no doubt a very high reſpect payed towards it, and was ſeparated from the uſes of common veſſels. It was a ſacred Cheſt, yet not to be adored, like that of the Mammoniſt, for a God. It is true (what *Volkelius* (*e*) obſerveth rightly againſt *Bellarmine*, who alledgeth the inſtance of the Ark in favour of Images) there is great difference betwixt ſuch an Image or Embleme as was conſtituted by the expreſs command of God, and to which he was by his Word eminently preſent; and thoſe which he neither commands, nor conſecrates with his Preſence. But here it ought not to be imagined, that the Ark or Cherubims were by Gods appointment objects of worſhip. The Heart was only to worſhip the Immenſe God, appearing in the *Shechinah*; though in that act the Reverence of the Body could not but paſs towards the Ark; and the Mind it may be did not always uſe nice abſtraction, any more than we now do, when with civil reverence we bow to the King, not conſidering juſt then his clothes and chair of ſtate apart from him; yet then it is *to the Prince*, and not *to his Robes* or ſeat that we bow. It is therefore abſurd to ſay with *Bellarmine* (*f*), that the Cherubims over the Ark were of neceſſity worſhipped with the Ark it ſelf; for neither were ador'd, no not the luſter of the *Shechinah* it ſelf; it not being immediately aſſumed by the *Logos*, but only uſed as a ſign of his gracious Preſence; but God only, who was the object of the worſhip, whilſt they were but circumſtances and appendages of his Glory, towards, and not to which the external ſign of adoration uſed by the High-Prieſt was directed. For we muſt not here conceive of the Typical Ark, as of the real Ark, the Lord Incarnate; in whom the Humane and Divine Nature are ſo united, that the Chriſtians have worſhipped him always as God-man, though as

St.

e *Volkel. de verâ Relig.* l. 5. c. 24. *de Idol.* p. 582.

f *Bell. de Imag.* l. 2. c. 12.

St. *Cyril* profeſſeth in his firſt Book of Anſwers to *Julian*, they had all ἀνθρωπολατρεία, or Man-worſhip, in abhorrence. I know that very often (*a*) the words of *David* are alledged for the worſhip of the Ark; but with as little ground, as other Scriptures are often produced by men who firſt take up opinions, and then ſeek colour for them in the Bible. We read the words (*b*) after this manner: *Fall down before his Footſtool, for it, or he, is holy*; and we have amended the Tranſlation with Reaſon; it being read of old, *Worſhip the footſtool of his feet:* a Reading indiſcreet as that of *lifting up the hands unto thy holy Ark moſt high*, in the ſinging Pſalms (*c*) which are rather permitted than allowed. The Divine Poet intended no more in that place to urge the *Iſraelites* to a preciſe adoration of the Ark it ſelf, than any other Poet (*d*) deſigns to worſhip the very knees or feet of the King, or *Pantoſle* of the Pope, when in his raptures of humility he ſpeaks of falling proſtrate before them. *Genebrard* himſelf thinks *David* to make alluſion to ſuch Rites. And the *Hebrew* reading *La-hadhom* is ſurely to be interpreted *at his footſtool*, unleſs the *Lamed* ſignifieth nothing; which Dr. *Vane* either did not, or would not obſerve when he * ſo magiſterially accus'd the Proteſtants of tranſlating falſly. A greater Doctor by far hath reckoned together the Brazen Serpent and the Cherubims (*f*), as other things than Images of worſhip: ſo far he is from that, that he calls the Cherubim on the Ark a ſimple ornament accommodated to that Throne or Chair, whence Oracles were diſpenſed. But St. *Hierom* it ſeems eſtabliſheth the worſhip of the Ark in theſe words: "The "*Jews* in time paſt did worſhip or reverence the Holy "of Holies, becauſe there were the Cherubims, the "Propitiatory, the Ark. So *T.G.* (*g*) tranſlateth him citing his 17*th.* Epiſtle *ad Marcellam.* But if he had pleaſed,

a See *T. G. Cath. no Idol.* p. 205, 206.

b Pſal. 99. 5.

c Pſal. 28. 2.

d *Kircher in Carm. did. Ars magna lucis & umbræ — cadit ad Genua orientis ſolis.*

* Dr. *Vane* in his loſt ſheep return'd home c. 21. p. 304.

f *Tirtul. contr. Marc.* l. 2. c. 22. p. 392. *Sic & Chir. & Ser. aurea in Arcâ figuratum exemplum, certè ſimplex ornamentum, accommodata ſuggeſtui, longè diverſas habendo cauſas ab Idololatriæ conditione, ob quam ſimilitudo prohibetur*, &c.

g *T. G. Cath. no Idol.* p. 200.

sed, he might have left out the word Worship, and used that of Reverence only. The holy Father indeed in that Epistle (a) penned by him for *Paula* and *Eustochium*, owneth a reverence due to them. So do we very readily an high honorary respect, but not a προσκύνησις, (the word of the Seventy) a giving them the homage of the external sign of bowing in a Temple, and in our time of devotion; for that so circumstantiated belongeth to God. So did putting off the shoos; it was a giving as 'twere to God by that sign possession of that place; although a forbearing to trample rudely there might be also a relative respect to the consecrated place. Neither did St. *Hierom* in that place, design such reverence or worship; for in the following part of the Epistle which *T. G.* did forbear to cite, the Manna, the rod of *Aaron*, the Golden Altar which the High-Priest did not worship, although he reverenced them, and separated them from vile use, are reckoned in the same Classis of things to be rever'd with the Ark and Cherubims; as also the Sepulchre of Christ, which the Primitive Christians no more ador'd than they in *Socrates* (b) worshipped the body of *Babylas* the Martyr, who danced about his Coffin singing Psalms, and deriding the worship of Idols, whilst they removed it into the City of *Antioch* from *Daphne* (c). But in this Argument I need not abound. Others have said a great deal in it, and I will not transcribe them, but rather refer to them (d). I will note only here an odd assertion of *Grotius* (e), which I wonder how it dropped from the Pen of that great man: "Whilst (said he) the Catho-"licks (meaning the Papists) profess that they exhibit "the signs of honour to Christ, whom many Protestants acknowledg to be present in the Sacrament, "they are no more εἰκονολάτραι, Bread-worshippers, then "the *Jews* were κιβωτολάτραι, worshippers of the Ark "when

a In Tom. 1. *Op. S. Hieron.* p. 123, 124.

b *Socr. Eccl. Hist.* p. 191. l. 3. c. 18.

c See *Epist. S. Hieron. ad Ripar. Presbyt. op.* Tom. 2. p. 118.

d See Bishop *Whites* Orthod. Faith. p. 111. *Capit. Caroli Magni.* c. 26. p. 271. Dr. *Still.* against *T. G.* p. 710, 711, &c.

e *In Voto pro Pace*, p. 41.

" when they exhibited the honour of God at it. But the *Jews* did not worſhip the Ark at all, much leſs as the body of the *Logos*, whilſt ſuch Catholicks worſhip not only Chriſt as preſent, but that very ſubſtance which is under the ſhew of bread as the natural body of Chriſt; and therefore if it prove bread, they worſhip bread, whatever they think it; for the falſe opinions of men change not the nature of things; and bread is bread, and the worſhip of that which is bread is certainly Bread-worſhip; though it be judged of, and honoured as another thing. And *Barnabas* and *Paul* were no other perſons, though the *Lycaonians* thought one to be *Jupiter* and the other *Mercury*, being induced to that misbelief, and an inclination to offer ſacrifice to them, by perceiving a miracle wrought by a word of their mouth (*a*).

a Act. 14. 8, to 13.

This Ark which I am ſpeaking of as the inſtrument of the *Shechinah*, but not as an object of worſhip in it ſelf, was a while placed in *Shiloh*; but it was not till *Davids*, or rather *Solomons* time properly, fixed in one certain place of the Holy Land: God cauſing his favour to be valued by the ſuſpence of it, and ſhewing thereby that he was not confined to any particular place.

Beſides the *Shechinah* in the Tabernacle, and afterwards in the Temple, God vouchſafed the *Jews* another eſpecial Preſence of his *Logos* by the High Prieſt, and the Sacerdotal Appendages of the Ephod and Breaſtplate. Of the appointment of theſe we read in the eight and twentieth Chapter of *Exodus*. And in that Chapter it is ſaid concerning the Breaſt-plate of the High-Prieſt (*b*) [called alſo the Breaſt-plate of Judgment] that the *Urim* and the *Thummim*, ſhould be put into it. Our *Engliſh* Bible hath retained theſe words in their Original; and where they are tranſla-

b Exod. 28. 30.

ted, in other Verſions, the *Reader* is ſtill left uncertain of their meaning, and ſometimes led into a miſtake. Such is like to be the fate of thoſe who are guided meerly by the vulgar-Latine Verſion [*Doctrine and Truth*]; or that of the Seventy [*Demonſtration and Truth*]; or that in the *Syriack* [*the Lucid and the Perfect*]; or that in one Reading of the *Samaritan* Tranſlation [*Elucidations and Perfections*]; or laſtly, that of the *Arabick* [*Diſlucidations and Certainties*]. Our *Engliſh* Tranſlators, and *Arias Montanus*, and *Onkelos*, ſpake e'n as intelligibly, when they only tranſcrib'd the very *Hebrew* words of *Urim* and *Thummim*. I beg leave of the *Reader*, in this dark and diſputable ſubject, to interpoſe my conjecture; and it is at his pleaſure whether he will favour or reject it. If he ſhall do the latter, he will not be offenſive to me; for I pretend not, in this Argument, to Demonſtration.

Thus, then, I conceive of this *Levitical* appointment. I ſuppoſe the High-Prieſt, conſider'd eſpecially as a Type of Chriſt, to be the walking-Temple of God. His Garments and Breaſt-plate, together with the *Urim* and *Thummim*, I take to be the *apparatus* of this *Shechinah*, in imitation of that other whoſe Inſtruments were the Ark and the Cherubims. Of the High-Prieſt *Philo* confeſſeth (*a*), that they eſteemed not of him as of a meer man; but they look'd on him as [a λόγος θεῖος, or] the *Divine Word*. And for that reaſon (ſaith (*b*) Dr. *Jackſon*) the Breaſt-plate was call'd λόγιον, or, τὸ λογεῖον. For his Ornaments, *Grotius* (*c*) doth parallel them with thoſe of the Temple. "The "Four colours (ſaid he) are the ſame. The Seven "Garments (*d*), if you reckon in the Plate of Gold, an- "ſwer to the ſeven Lamps; the Twelve Jewels to the "Twelve Loaves; the inner-linings of the Ephod, to "the vail and ſix Curtains. And it is obſervable, that

a Breaſt-plate, an Ephod, a Robe, a broider'd Coat, a Miter—a Girdle, v. 36. a Plate of gold.

a *Philo Jud. de Profugis*, p. 466 B.

b Dr. *Jackſon* in vol. 3. p. 803.

c *H. Grotius* in *Exod.* 28. 4. And *Munſter* in *v.* 5. p. 653. *Crit. Maj.*

d *Exod.* 28. 5, 8.

in

in *Hosea* (*e*) the more fixed, and this walking *Shechinah*, are joined together. The place to which I refer, is that in which God threatneth, "That the children "of *Israel* shall abide many days without a King, and "without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and with-"out an Image [or a Standing or Statue, as the Mar-"gent readeth it; without a fixed *Shechinah*, such as "that of the Ark] and without an Ephod; and with-"out (*f*) *Teraphim* [or *Urim*]. *Christopher Castrus* judg'd these to be the same: and a very learn'd and excellent person of our own Nation (*g*), with whose leave I publish this Discourse, hath given us Arguments to persuade to the belief of that which *Castrus* just hinted without proof or illustration. To him I send the doubtful *Reader*, taking it my self for a most probable opinion, That *Urim* were *Teraphim*; and also, that *Teraphim* were *Seraphim*; of which the *Sin* might be first mispronounced as *Zain*, and afterwards as *Tzade*, and at last as *Thau*. And both *Urim* and *Seraphim* have the same signification of Burnings (*h*). By *Thummim* I mean something of a very different nature; and, in due place, I shall shew my opinion concerning it, and offer to the Curious a new, and I hope an inoffensive and probable notion. But order requireth that I first speak of *Urim*, *Seraphim*, or *Teraphim*. Where I would build something new also, though upon an old foundation.

e *Hosea* 3. 4.

f LXX. οὐδὲ Δήλων, i. e. *sine urim.*

g *Doctiss. D. Spanc. in Dissert. de urim & Thummim*, c. 5. sect. 2. p. 251, 252, 253.

h *S. Hier. Tom.* 3. *ad Dam.* p. 117. *Seraphim, sicut in interpret. nom. Hebr. invenimus, Ardor aut Incendium——interpretantur. Tom.* 5. *p.* 29. *Seraphim interpretantur* ἐμπρητὰς [not the LXX, who in Isa. 6. 2. use σεραφὶμ] *quod nos dicere possumus, Incendentes seu comburentes.*

I cannot here assent to the opinion of *Grotius*, who (*i*) is inclin'd to think the *Teraphim* of the same form with the *Cherubim*. He citeth, for this, the Authority of St. *Hierom ad Marcellam*; and there I find that Father (*k*) so expounding the *Theraphim* in the third of *Hosea*, as if they were [not the Statues, but] the Pictures of Cherubims upon the Ephod, in allusion to those on the vail of the Tabernacle (*l*). And he further

i *In Judic.* c. 17. v. 4. p. 2123. *ap.* C. M.

k *S. Hieron. ad Marcell.* Tom. 3. op. p. 72, 73.

l *Exod.* 26. 31. With Cherubims shall it be made. *Vers. Arab.* With Pictures.

ther obſerveth, that where the word *Cherubim*, in *Exodus*, is written without the Letter *Vau*, it ſignifieth Pictures; but where it is written with it, it generally ſignifieth living Creatures. The Text, ſure, in his time was written otherwiſe than now it is; for now the Cherubim on the Ark and on the Vail are written alike. Whether thoſe on the Vail were intire Pictures or Figures of Cherubim, as *Onkelos* calls them, or [*Opus Plumarium*] a kind of Feather-work, according to the Vulgar and *Samaritan* Verſions, or repreſentation of the Wings of the Cherubs, may deſerve the further conſideration of *Philologers*. But whatſoever the opinion was which St. *Hierom* had of *Teraphim*, it is certain that he ſuppoſed the Seraphim to be diſtinct from the Cherubim. The Cherubim he repreſenteth, as the more immediate Attendants on the Throne of God; the Seraphim, as Angels diſpatched on lower Miniſtrations (*a*). And he ſheweth it to be the cuſtom of ſome in his days, to uſe in their prayers this compellation, *Thou who ſitteſt upon the Cherubim and Seraphim.* And though in his Comment on the ſixth of *Iſaiah*, he diſliketh that form; yet that diſpleaſure was not conceiv'd againſt the diſtinction of Cherubim and Seraphim; but at the inſinuation, by thoſe words, of this Doctrine, which he eſteemed falſe, that the Seraphim were the Angels appertaining immediately to the higheſt *Shechinah*, or Heavenly Throne. If Cherubim had been the ſame with Urim and Seraphim, *Moſes* would ſcarce have changed their name in the purſuit of the ſame diſcourſe; firſt calling them Cherubim no leſs than ſeven times in the ſpace of five verſes (*b*), whilſt he ſpeaketh of the Mercy-ſeat; and then giving them a new title of *Urim*, whilſt he deſcribeth the Breaſt-plate, which was but the leſſer and more expoſed Ark. *Teraphim* he might well lay aſide, becauſe of their

a S. *Hieron* in Iſa. 6. p. 29. Tom. 5. op. *In Cherubim oſtenditur Dominus; ex Seraphim ex parte oſtenditur, ex parte celatur.*
Idem. Tom. 3. *op. ad Damaſum Papam.* p. 121. *Super Cherubim ſedere Deum, ſcriptum eſt—ſuper Seraphim verò ſidere Deum, nulla ſcript. commemorat, & ne ipſa quidem Seraphim circa Deum ſtantia, excepto preſent. loco (viz. Iſa. 6.) in SS—invenimus.*
b *Exod.* 25. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

their private uſe, or rather their abuſe; for which reaſon the name of *Baal* was never appli'd to the God of *Iſrael*, though in it ſelf proper enough. But let us come nearer to the point, from which we have, as yet, kept at ſome diſtance.

Urim and *Thummim*, whatſoever was their myſterious importance, were, in themſelves, material things, and things diſtinct from the Gems; for they were to be put into the Pectoral (*c*). Who the Maker of them was, it is not diſtinctly reported. They are not found in the Inventory of *Bezaliel*'s Workmanſhip, unleſs they are included in the general name of the *Pectoral*, uſed for it ſelf and its Contents. (*c*) Levit. 8. 8.

In enquiring into their nature, we muſt conſider them with ſome relation to Gods *Shechinah* on the Ark. For the High-Prieſt was, here, a Type of the *Logos*; and the *Pectoral*, a Quadrangular hollow Inſtrument with Rings, and wrought without like the Veil of the Holieſt, was a little model of the Ark of the Covenant.

Wherefore, for Urim, Teraphim, or Seraphim, I conceive that they anſwer, in part, to the Cherubim, which were Images of Angels. In part, I ſay; for it is my conjecture concerning theſe Seraphim, that they were Images or Symbols of Miniſtring-Angels in the form of fiery flying Serpents; as Cherubim were ſuch Symbols with the Faces of Oxen. And towards the probability of this new and odd conceit, I offer the following Concluſions, which I deſire the *Reader* jointly to conſider ere he derides it.

Firſt, The word *Saraph* it ſelf, is uſed in ſignifying a fiery flying Serpent. This is its ſignification in the Book of *Numbers* (*a*), where it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſent* Seraphim, *or fiery ſerpents among them.* And again, it is there remembred, how God ſaid to *Moſes*, *Make* (*a*) Numb. 21. 6, 8.

thee

thee a Saraph, *and ſet it upon a Pole.* To which I add that in the Book of *Deuteronomy* (*b*), a Burning Serpent is called *Nachaſh Saraph.*

b Deut. 8.15.

c *Herod.* l. 2. p. 132. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* l. 1.

d Iſa. 14.29.

Secondly, There were in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Lybia* (*c*), and other places, flying fiery Serpents. The Prophet *Iſaiah* mentioneth ſuch creatures (*d*); and *Kimchi*, on the place, ſaith they are found in *Ethiopia*; meaning, it may be, the *Arabian Ethiopia.* They were called Fiery, not only becauſe of the heat of their venom, cauſing extraordinary inflammations and thirſts in the body bitten by them; but alſo becauſe they appeared ſuch when they flew in the Air, being a kind of animated Meteors. Hence *Abarbanel* ſaith of ſuch flying Serpents, that they were reddiſh, after the colour of braſs (*e*): If that was their natural colour, great addition might be made to it by the ſwift motion of their wings, and the vibration of their tayls, in the bright Atmo-ſpheres of *Arabia* and *Egypt.*

e *Abarb. Com. in Leg. fol.* 305. *ap. G. Moebium de Æneo Serpente. Exerc.* 2. c. 2. ſect. 11.

Thirdly, In the earlieſt Ages and inhabited Countries of the world, the creatures on earth principally reverenc'd, were Oxen and Serpents. That Oxen were ſo, has been already ſhew'd; as likewiſe that the Cherubim, Appendages to the *Shechinah* in the moſt holy Place, had the faces of ſuch Beaſts. Serpents were lately worſhip'd in *America*, as appeareth from *Acoſta*, and the Diſcoverers in *Hackluit.* And we read in Mr. *Gage* (*f*), of the great Golden Snakes adjoin'd to the Idols *Tezcatlipuca* and *Vitzilopuchtli.* And, of old, Serpents were ſacred in *Egypt.* *Herodotus* mentioneth the ἱεροὶ ὄφιες (*g*) or ſacred Serpents about *Thebes*, which when they were dead, were buried by the ſuperſtitious in the Temple of *Jupiter.* We ſee no Table of *Iſis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Bacchus*, without a Serpent (*h*). The ſacredneſs of that Beaſt is ſaid, by *Pignorius*, to have prevail'd among the *Arabians*, *Babylonians*, *Carthaginians*,

f *Gages* Survey of the Weſt-Indies, p. 117.

g *Herodot. in Euter.* p. 132.

h *Stet Pignor. de Menſâ Iſiacâ.* p. 23.

thaginians, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, *Sicyonians*, *Epidaurians*, *Romans*. He might have added the *Indians*, with *Maximus Tyrius* (*a*); and with *Eraſmus Stella* (*b*) the *Boruſſians* and *Samogetes*. And the Hereticks, call'd *Ophitæ* or *Ophiani*, have not eſcaped the notice of any who have looked into the Hiſtory of the Chriſtian Church (*c*).

For the worſhip both of Serpents and Oxen together, it is repreſented in the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick (*d*) of a winged Ox with humane face, vomiting flames, having a Globe on its head, and under its feet, an undulated Serpent.

Serpents were thus honoured for many reaſons. Becauſe they could twine themſelves into all figures (*e*). Becauſe there was a mighty Energy in their venom (*f*). Becauſe of their mighty Bulk, by which ſome of them were able (ſaith *Diodorus* (*g*)) to conquer Elephants. Becauſe (ſaith *Voſſius* (*h*)) they live to great Age; are of quick and piercing ſight; renew their youth by putting off their skin. Laſt of all, by reaſon (ſaith *Pignorius* (*i*)) that the Heathen were overpowered with the craft, malice and pride of the Devil who deluded man in that ſhape, and would, as it were, redeem the loſs he ſuſtained in the curſe of that creature, by turning it into a venerable Idol.

Fourthly, Serpents, thus ſacred, were not the ultimate objects of worſhip, but the ſymbols or ſhrines of ſome Angels or Dæmons. Thus the Serpents of *Thebes*, ſpoken of by *Herodotus* (*k*), are ſaid, by him, to be ſacred to *Jupiter*. And the Symbol of *Cneph*, was the Symbol of an *Agatho-demon* (*l*).

Fifthly, There were, not only ſuch living Symbols and ſhrines, but alſo Images made by mens hands. Such we ſee in the Tables of *Iſis*, and in the Images of *Cartari*. Such we read of in the Scripture, under the

a *Max. Tyr.* diſſert. 38. p. 373.
b *Eraſ. Stel. ad Init.* l. 1. *de Antiq. Boruſſ. & Samog.*
c See *Tertull. de præſcrip. Hær.* c. 47. p. 220.
d *Kircher in Oedip. ſynt.* 18. p. 508, 509. c. 1.
e Wiſd. 16. 5. σειλιῶν ἰοπλοκίαν.
f See *Porphyr. de Abſtin.* l. 4. p. 155. giving the like reaſon for the worſhip of the *Egyptian* Hawk. ἥλιον, ἱέρακα, συμπάσαν μὲν τὴν φύσιν ἐξ αἵματος ἰσχύοντα, &c.
g *Diod. Sic.* l. 3. c. 10. p. 143. See *Max. Tyr. diſſ.* 38. p. 373.
h *Voſſ. de Idol.* l. 9. c. 11. p. 234.
i *Pignor. de menſâ Iſiacâ.* p. 24.
k *Herod.* l. 2. p. 132. A.
l *Euſeb. de præp.* l. 1. c. 10. p. 41.

name of *Teraphim*, which were much in uſe in the world a while after the flood. In the *Rameſſean Obelisk* (*a*), a good Dæmon is repreſented by an Aſp ſitting next *Oſiris*. And a Dragon, a creature of the Serpent-kind, is uſually annexed to the ſtatue of *Æſculapius* (*b*).

a *Kirch. Oed.* Tom. 3 p. 160, 199.

b *Macrob.* l. 1. *Sat.* c. 20. p. 295.

Sixthly, Such good Angels as made up a part of the *Shechinah* of the *Logos*, and alſo miniſtred in the world, ſeem to have given ſome occaſion to ſuch Symbols and Images by their appearance, as in the form of winged Oxen or Cherubim; ſo by their appearance as of the moſt eminent ſort of winged Serpents, with beautiful faces, it may be, of men as had the Harpies, though they had the tail of a Serpent (*c*), or rather of Eagles, if they appeared not with Serpentine heads. The ſacred One in the Sphinx of *Kircher* (*d*) had the head of an Hawk or Eagle: ſo had the famous Κνὴφ in *Egypt*, as *Euſebius* relateth from *Zoroaſter* (*e*). The *Egyptians* call'd him *Cneph*, the *Phenicians*, a good Dæmon.

c See *Cartari's Imag.* p. 156.

d *Kirch. Sphinx. myſtagoga.* p. 57.

e *Euſ. de præp. Evang.* l. 1. c. 10. *de Phæn. Theol.* p. 41, 42. Ὁ δὲ Νοῦς δὲ ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱέρακος. οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, &c.

Now, if the *Seraphim* had not appeared in ſome ſuch form, it would be very difficult to give any tolerable account of the temptation of *Adam* and *Eve* by a Dæmon in the ſhape of a Serpent. That Serpent is ridiculouſly painted in the form of a creeping one before the fall: and it is impoſſible to conceive our firſt Parents ſo ſtupid, as to have entered into Dialogue with ſuch a creature without any aſtoniſhment. But being uſed to the *Shechinah* of the *Logos*, and to the appearance of miniſtring Angels, ſhewing themſelves in ſome ſuch winged form (for that they abode not (*f*) one night in Paradiſe, is by many judicious perſons eſteemed a groundleſs fancy); it is eaſie to conceive, upon that ſuppoſition, how they might entertain ſome familiar diſcourſe with a creature aſſuming that Image in

f *Elucid. Pſeudo-Anſelmi.* l. 1. c. 15. p. 461. Diſc. *Quamdiu fuerunt in Paradiſo?* Mag. *Septem* [*al. Sex*] *horas.*

in very ſplendid and glorious manner. The Text aſſureth us that the form is now changed by Gods curſe; and ſure the change was more conſiderable than the alteration ſpoken of by Mr. *Mede* (*a*), who thinketh that the Serpent went formerly on the ground, though with his head and breaſt reared up and advanced. It ſeemeth a more probable opinion by far, that the change was made from the form of a ſplendid flying *Saraph*, to that of a mean creeping Serpent, not moving aloft in the air, but licking the duſt. And much more probable, doubtleſs, it is than that dream which *Kircher* (*b*) chargeth on *Maimonides*; as if that *Rabbi* had affirmed, that the Devil deceived *Eve* in the ſhape of a Camel. But *Maimonides* (*c*) ſaith only from the *Rabbies* in *Medraſch*, that the Serpent was rode on, and was as big as a Camel; and that he who rode on him was *Samael*, or Satan.

a Mr. *Mede's* Works, p. 292.

b *Oëdip. Egypt. Syntag.* 3. c. 4.

c *Maimon. Mor Nevochim.* par. 2. c. 30. p. 280.

Methinks a part of the puniſhment of *Adam* and *Eve* declares the ſhape of the Serpent or Dæmon, by whom they were tempted. For it is ſaid that God guarded Paradiſe againſt them by a Cherub and a Flaming-ſword, which (as hath been noted already) was eſteemed by the *Jews* a ſecond Angel; and may be aptly imagined a *Saraph*, or flaming-Angel, in the form of a a flying fiery Serpent, whoſe body vibrated in the air with luſter, and may be fitly deſcribed by the Image of ſuch a ſword. And whereas *Maimonides* (*d*) interpreteth this Sword of the property of an Angel, of which the Scripture ſpeaketh as of a flame of fire; he ſaith nothing diſtinctly applicable to the ſecond Angel, but what was common alſo to the Cherub; whilſt ſomething is pointed at in the Text as peculiar to the ſecond Angel called a flaming-ſword.

d *Id. ibid.* par. 1. c. 49. p. 73.

It may be further noted to our preſent purpoſe, that the word *Saraph* or Seraphim is uſed in Scripture both

to denote (as was ſaid) a fiery flying Serpent, and alſo an Angel of a certain order whom *Iſaiah* repreſenteth (*c*) as having wings, and flying to him with a coal from the Altar. Accordingly *Buxtorf* in his little *Lexicon* in the word *Saraph*, thus diſcourſeth: "*Saraph* "ſignifies a fiery and moſt venemous Serpent. Seraphim "is likewiſe a name of Angels, who from the clearneſs "and brightneſs of their Aſpect are ſeen as it were fla-"ming and fiery. But there is an authority in this Argument to me more valuable, not for the notation of the word, but for the ſenſe ſo accommodate to my notion. It is that of *Tertullian* in two places. The firſt place is in his Book *de Præſcriptione Hæreticorum*; There he ſuggeſteth from others, "That (*a*) *Eve gave* "*attention to the Serpent as to the Son of God.* The ſecond place is in his Book againſt the *Valentinians*. There he ſaith (*b*), "That *the Serpent from the beginning was* "*one that ſacrilegiouſly uſurped the Divine Image.* This ſoundeth as if the Devil in Serpentine form, had repreſented part of the *Shechinah* of the *Logos*, and that *Eve* conceived him to be an Angel appertaining to his glorious preſence, and a miniſter of his pleaſure; and now come forth from him.

c Iſa. 6. 2, 6.

a *Tertull. de Præſcr. Hær.* p. 220. C.— *Iſtum fuiſſe ſerpentem cui Eva, ut filio Dei, credideràt.*

b *Id. adv. Val.* c. 2. p. 251. *Illa* [i. e. *Columba*] *a primordio, Divinæ Pacis Præco. Ille* [i. e. *Serpens*] *a primordio, divinæ Imaginis prædo.*

Now I here ſuppoſe the Seraphim or *Urim* to be two Golden winged Images, not from the number of the word *Urim* (for the *Jews* uſe that number frequently of a ſingle thing or perſon) but from that of the Images called Cherubim, which were two Symbols placed on the Ark which is typed in the Pectoral. And I do not think ſo much (as doth *Maimonides* (*c*) that the Cherubim were therefore two, leſt the form of a ſingle one ſhould have been miſtaken for the Figure of the one God; as that theſe two (like the Model of the Temple) had reference to Earth as well as Heaven, and, beſides Angels, repreſented *Moſes* and *Aaron* as the Mini-

c *Maim. More Nev.* par. 3. c. 45. p. 476.

Miniſters of the *Logos* under the Law; as the four Creatures in the Viſion of *Ezekiel* typed out the four Evangeliſts as Chriſts ſervants under the Goſpel. Neither did the number of the Cherubim prevent miſconſtruction. For St. *Hierom* reporteth of ſome, that by the two Seraphim [Cherubim he meaneth] they underſtood the Son and the Holy Ghoſt (*d*).

In the Pectoral I ſuppoſe Seraphim, and not Cherubim; this being an Oracle for Civil affairs (*e*), and not properly the Oracle of the Temple; and the Cherubim being according to St. *Hierom* before cited, the ſeven Spirits about Gods Throne, and according to *David* the Chariots on which he rides; and the Seraphim of inferior attendance (though Appendages of the *Shechinah*) and of more frequent miniſtration abroad in Temporal matters; ſuch as that of the Captivity of *Judah*, in the declaration of which to *Iſaiah*, a *Saraph* aſſiſted.

For the Anſwer of God by *Urim*, I ſuppoſe it not to have been conveyed through the mouths of theſe Images, which were to be put into the Ark (*f*), whilſt nothing is mentioned of the taking them out. But it ſeemeth moſt probable that as the *Logos* ſpake with a voice out of the Glory above the Cherubim, and not by them, their mouths being turned from the High-Prieſt; ſo the High-Prieſt, who here was the *Logos* of the *Logos*, the Subſtitute and Type of Chriſt, ſpake by Inſpiration over the Pectoral and *Saraphs*. Neither is it fully proved from the Book of *Samuel* (a), that God ſpake *Vivâ voce*; as the Annotations publiſhed out of the Library of the Archbiſhop of *York*, would have it to be: for it may well be ſaid, that God ſpake when through miraculous inſpiration he ſpake by the mouth of his Prophets or Prieſts *.

The *Urim* or Seraphim were put into the Pectoral, and

d *S. Hier. in Iſa.* c. 6. Tom. 4. p. 29.

e See *Dottiſſ. D. Spencer. Diſſ. de ur. & Thum.* p. 16, 17, 18.

f Levit. 8. 8.

a 1 Sam. 23. 11, 12. *The Lord ſaid,* [by the Ephod] *he will deſcend, —they will deliver ye up.*

* See, notwithſtanding Dr. *Spencer. Diſſert. de ur. & Thum.* p. 34, &c.

and not ſet upon it, as the Cherubim were on the greater Ark; not ſo much for the concealment of them from the eyes of the people prone to Idolatry, as for ſome other cauſe; for the Ark was often carried in Proceſſion with the Cherubims on it: unleſs we ſhall ſay that the upper cover of the Ark, or Mercy-ſeat, which is mentioned in Scripture as a diſtinct piece of Artifice from it (*b*), was not taken along with it.

b Exod. 28, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

But to me this ſeemeth one reaſon: the High-Prieſt was here the Type of Chriſt-Incarnate, who in the days of his fleſh, though he had Angels miniſtring to him, did not often pleaſe to occaſion their appearance.

It may be here objected, That this Notion of the Seraphim in the Ark, aſcribeth to God the ſetting up as part of his *Shechinah*, the Image proper to the Devil, for ſuch is that of the Serpent.

I anſwer, that the contrary is here true; for the groveling Serpent doomed by God is ſuch a Symbol; and ſuch a one the Heathens worſhipped. Neither was any other diſtinctly uſed in *Egypt*, or (ſo far as I have read) in any other Country of the world. For though the *Egyptian Cneph* had wings, yet he was not a winged Serpent, but a compounded Symbol, of which the tayl of the Serpent was but a ſmall part adjoined to the breaſt, wings and head of an Hawk or Eagle. And *Euſebius* relateth from *Philo Byblius*, that the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick of the World was a Circle, of which the Serpent (the Symbol of a good Dæmon as they conceived) was but the Diameter; the whole figure being almoſt like to the great ⊖ of the *Greeks*. And by that it appears that the ſacred *Egyptian* Serpent was the creeping one, and not the winged one of *Arabia*, whoſe company they ſo deteſted, that they deified the Bird *Ibis* for deſtroying it.

*

But

But now the glorious winged Serpent was the Symbol of a good miniſtring Angel. And accordingly God uſed ſuch a one in the Wilderneſs; and it is known by the name of the Brazen-ſerpent, or *Saraph* (*c*).

c Numb 21.8. *Ar. Mont. verſ. Fac Tibi Saraph.*

Of that inferior kind of *Shechinah* it is proper to ſpeak here; it being to be underſtood from the Contents of the foregoing Diſcourſe.

This then ſeemeth no other than a winged *Saraph*, put on a Pole (*a*), or ſtandard like a *Roman* Eagle; and conſtituted as a Symbol of the preſence of the *Logos*, ſo far as concerned his Divine Power and Goodneſs in healing them by miracle, who were bitten with fiery Serpents. That this was ſome ſort of the Preſence of the *Logos* appeareth from himſelf in the New Teſtament, where he oppoſeth to it as Antitype to Type, the natural body of himſelf crucified. As *Moſes* (ſaid he (*b*) *lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up.* 'Tis the Son of Man here plainly made the Antitype, and not the old Serpent, (as a learned man (*c*) would have it) deſtroyed indeed on the Croſs, but not ſaid by the Scripture to be lifted up upon it.

a Numb. 21.8. Lxx. ἐπὶ σημείου. *Ar. Mont. ſuper vexillum.*

b Joh. 3. 14.

c D. *Jackſon*, vol. 2 p. 916, 917, &c.

And though the *Saraph* was not Chriſt, yet it was the Symbol * by which he appeared; and by its ſtretched-out wings it may ſeem to the Fancy at leaſt, very aptly to expreſs Chriſts Crucifixion with arms extended.

* *Marius ap. Mœb. de Æn. Sep. Ex. 2. c. 2. Sect. 15.* —— *Atq; ità lignum hoc Crucis geſſiſſet figuram, ſicuti Chriſti Jonici Typum geſſit hic Serpens.*

If it be here ſaid that to make this Serpent a *Saraph*, and a part of Chriſts *Shechinah*, is to overthrow that which was ſuggeſted before of the concealment of the Seraphim in the Ark, and of the Cherubim behind the Veil, from the eyes of the people prone to Idolatry, this being expoſed to their daily ſight: I anſwer in two Particulars.

Firſt, It was agreeable to the Wiſdom of God to give

give ſome Type of Chriſt as crucified, that being one great part of that ſubſtance of the Goſpel of which the Law was a ſhadow; though he pleaſed not to do it too plainly in the ſhape of an humane body on a Croſs. And no other Type (I think) occurreth under Judaiſm, but this of the brazen *Saraph.*

Secondly, Here was not ſuch occaſion of Idolatry, as might have been taken from the Ark; for that was an Oracle, and a Divine Light ſhone forth, and a Divine Voice was heard, and ſigns of Adoration to God were there commanded. But this was no Oracle: It doth not appear that at this ſymbol any extraordinary cloud or glory ſhone; that hence any Cœleſtial thunder was heard. Only men were helped in thinking on God by the ſymbol of an Angel, which executeth Gods will on Earth, whilſt a ſecret virtue from the unſeen God made them whole. "He that turned himſelf towards it (ſaith (*d*) the Book of Wiſdom) was "not ſaved by any thing that he ſaw, but by Thee "that art the Saviour of all.

d Wiſd. 16.7. See *Chald. Par.* in Num. 21.8. *He ſhall recover if he direct his heart to the Word of the Lord.* Targ. Hieroſ. —— *If he lift his face to his Father in the Heavens.*

And if the people had been then prone to Idolize that Symbol, it had not remained undefaced till the days of *Hezekiah.*

This then is my conjecture (and I offer it no otherwiſe) about the *Urim*; and likewiſe about the Brazen Serpent.

For *Thummim*, I imagin it to be a thing of a very differing nature.

So do they who take it to be deriv'd from the Jewel in the Breſt-plate of the High-Prieſt of *Egypt*, called Ἀλήθεια. It is true, ſuch a Breſt-plate there was in *Egypt*, and it is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* (*a*), and *Ælian* (*b*). And *Diodorus* ſuppoſeth it to have conſiſted of many Gems; but *Ælian* calleth it an Image made of a Saphire. It is alſo confeſſed that the Seventy Interpreters

a *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. *Bibl.* c. 75. p. 66.
b *Æl. var. Hiſt.* l. 14. c. 34.

ters (*c*) do render *Thummim* by Ἀλήθεια.

(*c*) See *LXX.* & *Scalig. de Emend. Tim.* l. 7. p. 654.

But here two things are to be obſerved:

Firſt, This *Egyptian* Pectoral (deſerving the name of truth, it being put on as an ornament for the Bench in the execution of juſtice and maintenance of truth, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Ælian*; and not in order to the delivery of Oracles) may as well have been taken from the Breſt-plate of the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*. There is no mention of it in *Herodotus*, and before the *Græcian* times. And *Diodorus* when he ſpeaketh of it, he referreth to thoſe days when *Heliopolis*, *Thebes* and *Memphis* were the three head-Cities in *Egypt*, out of each of which ten Judges were choſen; and for *On*, or *Heliopolis*, it had a publick Temple built in it for the *Jews*, with the conſent of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, by *Onias* the High-Prieſt, who was then by the power of *Antiochus* deprived of his Authority and Office in *Judæa*. And concerning the *Egyptian* Pectoral, its name of Ἀλήθεια is plainly modern.

It may in the ſecond place be obſerved that upon ſuppoſition that this Pectoral was originally *Egyptian*, it doth not follow that the Seventy meant the ſame thing by their Ἀλήθεια that the *Egyptians* did by theirs. It may be rather gueſſed, that thoſe Interpreters tranſlating divers words and phraſes, which grated on *Egyptian* matters, in ſuch prudential manner that *Ptolomy* might not be offended (as is manifeſt that they did in ſeveral places of their Verſion); they made uſe of this name of Ἀλήθεια, as of a name which would at once recommend them to his favour, and well expreſs the ſenſe of Scripture, or the meaning of *Thummim*.

Now if *Urim* be Images in the leſſer Ark of the Pectoral, anſwering in ſome ſort to the Cherubim on the greater Ark; what poſſibly can *Thummim* be but a copy of the Moral Law put into the Pectoral? a

copy written in ſome Roll *, or engraven in ſome ſtone according to the pattern of the Tables brought down from the Mount? for what elſe was there in the other Ark? nothing ſure; though ſome *Rabbins*, and after them the learned *Hugo Grotius* believed otherwiſe (a).

* Conſider Exod. 24. 7.

a *Grot.* in Heb. 9. 4. p. 4268. in *M. C.*

Joſephus (b) thought nothing elſe to be there; and he had ground for his opinion from the holy Scriptures. For it is ſaid in the firſt of the Kings (c), *That there was nothing in the Ark ſave the two Tables of ſtone which Moſes put there at Horeb.* And this is repeated in the ſecond (d) of *Chronicles*. And to ſay as ſome adventure to do, that the Manna and the Rod of *Aaron* were there in the time of *Moſes*, and taken out in proceſs of time, leſt the Manna ſhould putrifie, and the Rod be worm-eaten, (as if they could any-where have been ſo long preſerved without miracle) ſoundeth very like to a Rabbinical whimſey.

b *Joſeph.* 8. 2.

c 1 King. 8. 9.

d 2 Chron. 5. 10.

For the places of Scripture alledged by *Grotius* in favour of his opinion, they anſwer themſelves. For in *Exodus* (e) it is not ſaid that *Moſes* commanded *Aaron* to take a pot of Manna and to put it into the Ark, but that he required him to lay it up before the Lord, or before the Ark where the Lord by his *Shechinah* then dwelt. Alſo in *Numbers* (f), it is not ſaid that God commanded *Moſes* to put the Rod of *Aaron* into the Ark, but that he required him to bring it before the Teſtimony, that is, the Ark of the Covenant. Wherefore that of the Author to the *Hebrews* (g), [*In the Holieſt of all was the Ark of the Covenant, wherein was the Golden pot that had Manna, and Aarons Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant*], muſt be interpreted as if *in* ſignified both in and by. So (ſaith *Capellus* upon the place) it is uſual for them who live by *Rome*, to ſay they live in it. So in *Cariathjarim* in the Book

e Exod. 16. 33.

f Numb. 17. 10.

g Heb. 9. 3, 4.

Book of *Judges* (*b*) ſignifieth, nigh it. *They pitched* (ſaith the Text) in *Kiriath-jearim in Judah: wherefore they called that place Mahaneh-Dan unto this day: behold it is behind Kiriath-jearim.* Neither doth *Gerionides* ſay (as *Grotius* maketh him) that the Manna and Rod were in the Ark; for he ſpeaketh of the Holieſt, and ſaith they were there, not determining in what part of it they were placed. h Judg. 18.12.

Thummim was not an Image as the *Urim* were; neither doth the Scripture ever ſay that God anſwered by *Thummim*. It ſaith not (*i*) that God did forbear to anſwer *Saul* by *Urim* and *Thummim*, but only that he did not anſwer him by *Urim*. For the Moral Law was a ſtanding Rule, and not an Extemporary Oracle. And we may obſerve from *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Egyptian* Judg whom he ſpeaketh of, when he put on his glorious Ζώδιον, ſign or image, called Ἀλήθεια, had alſo the Law in Eight Books laying before him, [*Ælian* and *Diodorus* tell this ſtory in differing manner; and it may be the thirty Judges were ſo many of the ſeventy Elders, and the Eight Books of Law were the Ten Commandments; and the Saphire or Gems in the Pectoral were the twelve precious ſtones according to the number of the Tribes; all uſed by the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* at *Heliopolis*, where was Schiſmatically aped the worſhip and judgment of *Jeruſalem*. For in ſuch matters the blunders of Hiſtorians are often more ſhameful than theſe. Nay, what if the Book containing the worſhip of the gods, and bound about with ſcarlet-threads, mentioned by the ſame *Diodorus* (*a*), ſhould be the Copy of the Moral Law in the Ark, whoſe outſide was wrought with gold, with blue, with purple, with ſcarlet, and fine-twined linnen? This is none of my Faith; yet many ſuch imperfect Narrations are to be found in him and other Hiſtorians, who i 1 Sam. 28.6.

a Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 87. p. 76.

write of things in ſuch ancient and dark times. For the name Αλήθεια (though that was given to the Pectoral, or to the illuſtrious Gem or Gems on it, and not particularly to the Law) yet to the Law of God it well agreeth; *David* ſaying concerning it, ὁ νόμος σου ἀλήθεια; *Thy Law is Truth* *. As congruous is the name of *Thummim*, or Perfections, the ſame Royal Prophet ſaying *, *Thy Law is perfect*. 'Tis perfect and without blemiſh in it, though the Laws of men are ſtained with divers ſpots and imperfections. It is perfect as a ſtraight Rule, it bendeth not to mens corrupt wills. It is a compleat Rule extending to all our needful caſes. It is exceeding broad, whilſt there is an end of all other pretended Perfections *. Of the perfection of this Law the Son of *Sirach* ſpeaketh, ſaying (*b*), *A man of underſtanding truſteth in the Law, and the Law is faithful unto him as an Oracle*; or [ὡς ἐρώτημα Θύλων, in the reading of the *Alexandrian* Copy of the Seventy], as the asking of [or the anſwer to the Interrogatory at] *Urim*. In which words let the Reader well conſider whether the Author does not oppoſe the Law to the Oracle as the *Thummim* to the *Urim*, ſaying in effect, "The Law "laid up in the Ark is as certain a Rule to go by in "the Moral courſe of a mans life; as the Oracle from "above the Ark where the *Urim* was an appendage of "Gods *Shechinah*, was a direction in extraordinary caſes. And whereas *Urim* is only mentioned, why *Scaliger* ſhould ſay (*c*), the meaning is, The Law is faithful to him as *Urim* and *Thummim*, he himſelf beſt knows. But it may be thought from the force of the Premiſſes, that he has in effect rendred the ſaying ſuch a kind of Tautology as this, *The Law is faithful as the Law*.

* Pſal. 119. 142, 151.

* Pſal. 19. 7.

* Pſal. 119. 96.

b Eccluſ. 33. 3. Sec. Verſ. LXX. c. 36. 3. —— ὡς ἐρωτ. διαλογ.

c Scal. de Emend. Temp. p. 654. —— ὡς ἐρ. Θύλων. h.e. *tanquam urim & thummim.*

Another place there is worthy our obſervation in this Argument, and the rather, becauſe it is a more Canoni-

Canonical portion of Scripture. It is that of S. *John* (*c*) who ſaith, that *the law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.* Theſe words, if I will ſerve my Hypotheſis, I muſt thus Paraphraſe. "The *Thummim* or Ἀλήθεια of the Law was received "from Gods ſubſtitute the *Logos*, by *Moſes*, who de- "livered it to the people; but the ἀλήθεια of the Chri- "ſtian Law, of the Goſpel of Grace, came, not only "from, but by, Jeſus Chriſt, the *Logos* made fleſh, as "was ſaid, a verſe or two before; and he, even God- "incarnate, did publiſh it with his own mouth. If this notion hath any truth in it, then that Prayer of *Moſes*, or bleſſing of *Levi* (*d*) [Let thy *Thummim* and thy *Urim* be with thy holy One] may be thus expounded; let thy Law [the ordinary Rule preferable before any extemporary Oracle] and alſo thy extraordinary inſpiration, together with thy bleſſing, be preſent with the linage of *Aaron* conſecrated to the Prieſt-hood, though thou wert angry with him for his carriage at the waters of *Meribah* or *Maſſah*; and, for that reaſon, deniedſt him an entrance into the land of *Canaan.*

c Joh. 1. 17.

d Deut. 33. 8.

But I will plainly acknowledge, that notwithſtanding all here ſaid by me, that may be true which *Munſter* ſaid (*e*), That no mortal man can now tell what the *Urim* and *Thummim* were. But, in aiming, with our conjectural Bolts, at Truth, as in ſhooting, if the white be not hit, it is ſome kind of felicity to come nigh the Mark.

e *Munſter in* Exod. 28. *de Urim & Thummim Quales fuerint Res, nemini mortalium conſtat.*

Now though the *Logos* appeared on the Ark, both in the Tabernacle and the Temple, and though he was, alſo, preſent, with this leſſer Ark the Pectoral; yet he did not limit himſelf to theſe holy Inſtruments, and the places of them. He appeared, elſewhere, ſometimes, when the emergent occaſion was remote

 from

from theſe Arks, and when the privacy of the Revelation to thoſe who were not High-Prieſts, was expedient, or neceſſary; unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the leſs ſolemn, and leſs majeſtick Apparitions were made by Angels.

That it was the *Logos* who ſhew'd himſelf to *Joſhuah* (*a*), giving to him a promiſe of defence, is the joynt opinion of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret* (*b*), and likewiſe of one more modern, yet not unworthy to be named amongſt them, the moſt learned Archbiſhop of *Armagh* (*d*). But a fragment of an antient and venerable *Greek* Scholion, produced by *Valeſius*, will have it to be *Michael*, and not the very Son of God. Be it the one, or the other, I hold not my ſelf much obliged to concern my ſelf, as a party, in the diſpute. Only I am inclined to think it the *Logos*, becauſe the place of the appearance, was ſacred; *Joſhuah* pulling of his Shoes, in token of a Divine, rather than of an Angelical preſence.

a Joſh. 5. 13, 14, 15.

b See *Hen. Valeſii not. in Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 7.

d *Uſher in Annal. vet. Teſtam.* p. 21. *Ed. Paris.*

Little is recorded of Gods *Shechinah* from the time of *Joſhua* to *David*. But *David* in his *Pſalms*, is very frequent in celebrating Gods preſence in the Sanctuary on Mount *Sion*. And of his being there where God was preſent by his Image or *Shechinah* (in the Temple, though not in the holieſt place of it), after deliverance from his enemies, who ſtood in his way both to the holy City and holy Temple, ſome (*a*) interpret theſe words of his in the 17*th Pſalm* (*b*); *As for me, I will behold thy face* (or *Shechinah*) *in righteouſneſs: I ſhall be ſatisfied when I awake with thy likeneſs.* Or (as I find it expounded in the Septuagint (*c*)) when I ſhall ſee thy glory, or glorious preſence: Thy Temunah (the word in the *Hebrew*) thy Image, of the *Logos*. In *Solomon*'s time the Ark was placed in a moſt magnificent Temple, which when

a See *Biſterfeld. contr. Crell.* l. 1. Sect. 2. c. 30. p. 298.

b Pſal. 17. 15.

c Ἐν τῷ ἐμφανῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου.

it

it had received the holy Veſſel, a Cloud, and the Glory of the Lord (*d*), a moſt venerable mixture of light and darkneſs filled the holy Houſe. It is called in the Book of *Kings* (*e*) *thick darkneſs*, *i. e.* ſuch whoſe ſolemnity hindred the ſight of any other object but the δόξα or glory of the *Shechinah*, which dazled the eye, rather than enlightned the *medium*. In the firſt Book of *Kings* this is omitted by the Lxx, but in the 2*d* of *Chronicles* (*f*) it is mentioned. And by thoſe Interpreters 'tis called barely γνόφος, or darkneſs. But they had before (*g*) called it νεφέλη δόξης κυρίου, the cloud of the Glory of the Lord; a cloud like that which, in S. *Matthew* (*h*), is called a bright one, and ſaid to overſhadow the Apoſtles, when Chriſt was transfigured and owned as Gods Son, by a voice out of the Cloud. After the dedication of this Houſe, God appeared in a dream, a ſecond time, to *Solomon* (*i*), having done ſo once before at *Gibeon* (*k*), and made a promiſe to him that his eyes and heart, that is, his eſpecial preſence, ſhould be in that conſecrated Houſe.

d 1 Kings 8. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
e 1 King. 8. 12, 13.
f 2 Chron. 6. 1.
g 2 Chron. 5. 13.
h Matt. 17. 5.
i 1 King. 9. 2.
k 1 King. 3. 5.

In the time of *Ahab*, *Elijah* being in *Iſrael*, and not in *Judah*, though he worſhipped not God in the Sanctuary; yet the *Logos* of God, when he was fled as far as *Horeb*, Gods Mountain (*l*), inſtructed him in a ſtill ſmall voice, after his ſpirit was made ſolemn, by wind, earthquake, and fire; for it was the Lord (ſaith the Text) that ſpake then to him, not a created Angel. But that God ever ſpake at *Dan* or *Bethel*, or appeared in any Glory, we neither read nor believe. So that the ſetting up the Symbol there was preſumption, and the truſting that God was preſent there, Idolatry: for that was an act due to Gods true preſence, miſplaced on his falſe one, and ſuch as was not only falſe, but, in terms, forbidden. In the times of *Iſaiah* S.

l 1 King. 19. 8, 10, 14, 15.

Hierom

Hierom (*m*) obſerveth that the Idolatries of the people were exceedingly encreaſed; yet himſelf ſaw the *Shechinah* (*n*) in a viſion: And St. *John* (*o*) ſheweth that it was a viſion of the *Logos*, ſaying that *Iſaiah ſaw Chriſts glory.*

m S. *Hieron.* Tom. 5. *oper.* fol. 211. D.
n Iſai. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4.
o John 12. 41.

The *Iſraelites* rather increaſing, than repenting of, their provocations, it pleaſed God to withdraw his preſence, and, as he is repreſented in the viſions of *Ezekiel* (*p*), to go up from the earth; and to permit the powers of *Babylon* to deſtroy the holy Temple, and to ſuffer the glory of it, the Ark, to depart, and never to appear again in its former condition; for the 2*d* Temple did, in this particular eſpecially, come ſhort of the firſt. And I know not what to make of a paſſage in the *Jew* (*q*), whoſe *Cippi Hebraici* are tranſlated by *Hottinger*; and who there mentions a part of the Ark extant in *Sion* in his time; unleſs I eſteem it (for ſure 'tis no other) a Jewiſh fable. That it may not go alone, I will add a ſtory of equal credit out of the *Elucidarium* aſcribed to S. *Anſelm.* There (*r*) the Diſciple asking what became of the Ark of the Covenant, the wiſe Maſter anſwers thus: "It was hid, "at Gods command, by *Jeremiah*, in the Sepulcre of "*Moyſes*, when *Hieruſalem* was ready to be deſtroy-"ed by the *Babylonian* forces. And, in the laſt times, "it will be brought out by *Enoch* and *Elias*; God re-"vealing it to them.

p See Ezek. 10. 18. c. 11. 23.
q *Cippi Hebraici.* p. 24.
r *Pſeudo-Anſelmi Elucidar.* c. 24. p. 476.

PART. 6.

Of the Shechinah *of God, from the Captivity to the Meſſiah.*

SUch *Jews* as had true apprehenſions of the God of *Iſrael*, and ſincere devotion to his ſervice, did in ſuch ſort honour his *Shechinah*, that when the Holy Cheſt

Cheſt and the Temple were no more to be ſeen, they worſhipped God towards the place where they formerly ſtood. Thus in *Chaldæa*, did the Prophet *Daniel*. Both the *Jews* in baniſhment, and the *Jews* in the land were, that way, to direct their faces in Prayer. And the *Rabbins* ſay (*a*) that a devout *Jew* had, on purpoſe, a Chamber with a window that way, and that the *Babylonian Jews* prayed with ſuch direction in the Chamber of *Daniel*, an antient Houſe of ſtone. To *Daniel* (as to one highly favour'd of God, and to a Prophet living in the dawning of the Goſpel) God diſcovered his preſence in a more ample and diſtinct manner than (ſo far as we read) he had formerly done; more eminently than to *Iſaiah* or *Ezekiel*. *Daniel* in a viſion (*b*) beheld the *Shechinah* of God, as it were in Heaven. The Father and the Son were perſonated in this Scene, or, rather, the Godhead and the word Incarnate. This I find to be the opinion of St. *Hierom* (*c*), who expoundeth *Daniel* by St. *Paul* where he ſpeaketh of the *Logos*, as equal with God, yet taking upon him the form of a Servant.

a See *Othon. Lex. Rabbin.* p. 476, 477.

b Dan. 7. 9, to 15.

c S. *Hier. in Dan.* p. 587. Alſo *Euſeb. in l.* 1. c. 2. *Eccl. Hiſt.* p. 10.

In thoſe days God vouchſafed ſuch plain viſions to the Prophets, and ſuch plain Prophecies of the Meſſiah, that the two Tribes, the iſſue of the true worſhippers in *Judah* where Gods *Shechinah* dwelt, though they returned from *Chaldea*, a ſoyl as fertile in producing Idols, as *Egypt* it ſelf, yet they had them in greater abhorrence than before. They looked back, many of them, on their puniſhment of exile and bondage for former Idolatries: They looked on their preſent miraculous reſtitution by the Power and Mercy of the God of *Iſrael*; and they look'd forward towards the Meſſiah, the Image of God, whoſe Kingdom was at hand; and theſe thoughts preſerved them, in great meaſure, from pollution with Idols; though the Ark was periſh-

ed, and Prophecy ceased (*a*), and the Holy Pectoral (said to be worn, even out of the City, by the High-Priest in his meeting of *Alexander*) was rather an Ornament than an Oracle.

a See *Jos. Scal. de Emend. Temp.* l. 7. p. 654. and 1. *Mach.* 9. 27.

At length, after the cessation of Prophets for more than 400 years; after the apparition of an Angel to *Zachariah* in the Temple (a sign that the Oracles, of the Ark, and *Urim*, had ceased); it pleased him to come in the flesh, whom *Daniel* saw as in Glory, and to be, for a season, on earth, as it were the eclipsed *Shechinah* of God. Such an appearance, for a time, our infirmity, and the Oeconomy of the Gospel required (*b*).

* See *Light. Harm.* 1. 35.

To this Messiah, as God-man, the things in the ritual Law of *Moses* had especial respect, though a vail was upon them. And, indeed, it would seem to derogate from the Wisdom of God, and the nature of his worship which is chiefly spiritual, to conceit that all the *Apparatus* of the Temple reached no further than the amusement of the eye. They, therefore, that will reach the sense of the Law, must suppose a mystery in it. Thus did St. *Stephen* (*c*) and St. *Paul* (*d*) those excellent Interpreters of *Moses*. These the Christian Fathers have followed as their patterns. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*e*) alluding to those words in the seventh of *Isaiah*, "*Nisi credideritis non intelligetis*, addeth words to this purpose; Unless ye believe "in Christ, ye will not understand the *Old Testament*, "which he by his own presence expounded. And S. *Gregory Nyssen* (*f*) concludeth from the material *Cherubims* covering with their wings the mysteries of the Ark (how strongly from thence, I will not say;) that there is a more deep sense of the Text of *Moses*.

b See *Greg. Nyss. contra Apollin. op. Tom.* 3. p. 287. & *Procl. ad Armen.* p. 17, 18. τι δὴ &c. το ἐσαρκώθη.

c Act. 7. 44.

d Hebr. 8. 5.

e *Clem. Alex. strom.* 4. p. 528.

f *Greg. Nyssen. Tom.* 1. *de vitâ Moysis*, p. 225.

PART.

PART. 6.

Of the cure of Idolatry by the Image of God in Chriſt God-man.

AMongſt the *Moſaic* Symbols, the Ark certainly was none of the meaneſt. This Holy veſſel, without peradventure, had moſt ſingular reference to Chriſt as God-man, who, at leaſt from his Baptiſm, hath been in that quality of God-incarnate, exhibited to the World as the Divine *Shechinah*.

At *Bethlehem* the Son of God was Born, the Town where the ſettled place for the Ark of God was diſcovered to *David*. So much we learn from the words of *Solomon* (*a*) in the ſixth verſe of the Hundred and ſecond *Pſalm*. He, there, repeateth a ſaying of *David* his Father, concerning the Ark; *Lo we heard of it at Ephrata*. *Caſtalio* plainly confeſſeth (*b*) that he underſtood not what that expreſſion meant. For my part, whilſt I am in purſuit of the preſent Argument, I cannot think the Text to be tortur'd by St. *Hilary*, (*c*) who will have it to confeſs Chriſt as the true Ark of God, diſcovered, typically, at *Bethlehem*, to *David*, and afterwards manifeſted in the fleſh, to the World, in the ſame City of *David*. "It is heard of "in *Ephrata*, *Ephrata* (ſaith he) is the ſame with "*Bethlehem*, where our Lord was born of the Virgin "*Mary*. There, therefore, the reſt of God is heard "of, where, firſt of all, the only begotten God inha-"bited a body of humane fleſh.

This is the Ark which reſted in the Tribe of *Judah* (*d*); for out of that Tribe our Lord ſprang (*e*).

To this Ark, as ſoon as he came into the World, the very Princes or Wiſemen of the Gentiles bowed down in the Cave at *Bethlehem*, the ſtar, or miracu-

a *Comp.* Pſal. 132. 8. with 2 Chron. 6. 41.

b *Caſtal. in* Pſal. 132. 6. *hujus loci ſententiam non intelligo.*

c *Hilar. Pictav. in* Pſal. 131. 1. *t.* 132. p. 1051.

d 2 Sam. 6.

e Heb. 7. 14.

lous meteor, as an appendage of the *Shechinah*, ſtanding above it.

This Ark tabernacled among men (*a*) and they ſaw his Glory, when Baptized; when transfigured.

This Ark giveth, through *Jordan*, or the Baptiſmal Laver (*b*) a paſſage into the myſtical *Canaan*. On this Ark, or Holy veſſel of Chriſts body, when he was Baptized by *John* in *Jordan*, the glory of the *Shechinah* appeared: a mighty luſtre (as *Grotius* hinteth) hovering, after the faſhion of a Dove, upon theſe waters of the ſecond Creation.

On him the Holy Ghoſt dwelt, or reſted (*c*) as God was ſaid to do in the Tabernacle. In him, as the Law of God in the Ark, and the Will of God known from the Oracle of the *Shechinah*, were depoſited all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledg (*d*). He is the great Oracle of God, whom, by a voice from Heaven out of a bright Cloud, or Gods excellent Glory (*e*), we are commanded to hear. In him was the ſum of the Law and the Prophets: and he was the light of *Iſrael*, of the *Gentiles*, of the whole world. To this *Logos*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*f*) aſcribeth the myſteries of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as to the great Teacher of them, before his Incarnation. So that, he, as a Divine ſubſiſtence, and ſubſtitute of the Father, giving the Law of Reaſon to *Adam*; the Jewiſh Law, to that people, by *Moſes*; and to all the world the Chriſtian Law, or Will of God; no Title could be more proper for him, than that of the Divine Word. And this *Logos* was not only the Wiſdom but the Power of God, and meriteth the name of the Ark of Gods ſtrength (*g*). *In him dwelt the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily.* The Deity ſojourn'd in an Ark of fleſh, or within the vail of it (*). And in this ſenſe I think ſome of the Ancients are to be interpre-

a Joh. 1. 14. ἐσκήνωσεν, & σκηνῆν is the ſame in ſenſe and almoſt in ſound with *Shachan* he dwelt, whence *Shechinah*.

b *Comp.* Joſh. 4. 7. and Matt. 3. 13.

c Joh. 1. 32, 33.

d See *Daill. de Dion. Ar.* p. 165.

e Matt. 17. 5. Mark. 9. 7. 2 Pet. 1. 16, 17. 18.

f *Clem. Alex. ſtrom.* 7. p. 702. C.

g Pſal. 132. 8. and Pſal. 105. 4. ſeek the Lord and his ſtrength. al. his Ark, or Face.

* Heb. 10. 20.

ted

ted, who called Chriſt ſo often Θεοφόρον (*a*) a God-carrying-man, as our Language may truly, though barſhly, render the *Greek* word; though *Neſtorius* abus'd the ſignification of it ſo far as to make it intimate a duality of perſons in Chriſt.

This Ark was the face or viſible preſence of God, and he that had ſeen him as Meſſiah, had in that ſenſe ſeen the Father (*b*). This body was not the very Godhead as *Muggleton* blaſphemeth, but the Godhead did in it ſhew forth it ſelf to men in ſigns of mighty Power, Holineſs, and Wiſdom.

This Evangelical Ark was the Image of the inviſible God; not indeed the very picture or ſtatue, but (as St. *Hilary* ſtileth him (*c*)) the Perſonator of his Eſſence. It is true he ſaith of ſome of the *Jews* (*d*), That they had never ſeen the ſhape of the Father, his εἶδος, or Appearance. And this he ſaith truly in two reſpects, though him they ſaw when he thus ſpake to them. For firſt there were none of them who ſaw him baptized or transfigured; for in the ſame place he denies that they ever heard the voice of God. And then theſe were unbelieving *Jews*, and therefore ſaw him as meer man, as one of the worſt of men in their conceit, an Impoſtor and Magician, and not as the Meſſiah, the Son, the Incarnate *Shechinah* of God. To ſuch therefore as under thoſe miſapprehenſions of him, he ſaith elſewhere, *Why call you me good, there is none good ſave one, that is God.*

However Chriſt in truth, though not to the eyes of Infidels, was the Image of the inviſible Father; and one whoſe deſign was to put all the Idols and Images of the Superſtitious world (*a*) under his feet. Of this the Prophets foretold (*b*), and this the world hath ſeen fulfilled; Oracles by degrees ceaſing, and now ſcarce any footſteps remaining of that *Triumvirate* of gods,

a See *Cyr. Alex. Scol. de Incarn. ap. Concil. Epheſ. prim.* c. 17. p. 960.

b See *Hil. Pictav. de Trin.* l. 4. p. 152, 153, 154.

c *Hil. Pict.* p. 154. See *Concil. Max.* Tom. 5. p. 349. c. d. Tom. 1. p. 361. c.

d Joh. 5. 37.

a *Vide Concil. Max.* Tom. 7. p. 310. e. p. 875. a. Tom. 1. 619. b. 622.

a S. *Athan.* v. 1. p. 53. d. p. 90. d. p. 94. c. p. 72. d. p. 619. b. p. 622. a.

b Iſa. c. 2. v. 18, 20. Zeph. 2. 11. Zach. 13. 2.

gods, (for their gods had been men, and those some of them no Heroes in virtue), *Jupiter* (*c*) the god of the Heavens, *Neptune* of the Sea, *Pluto* of the Earth. It is said by the *Arabick* Author of the Prodigies of *Egypt* (*d*), that when *Noah* named one God, Idols fell prostrate. It is more true of him who began the new world of the Gospel, that when he appeared as the Image of the one true God, Idolatry vanished before him (*e*). And the Fathers will have it, that when in his Childhood he went into *Egypt*, and was brought to *Memphis*, the *Egyptian* Idols fell at his feet (*f*). And St. *Hierom* (whose manner is as much to cite in his Commentaries, the opinions which he had collected, as to set down his own) does tell of some (*g*) who applied to Christ and the Virgin those words of *Isaiah* (*h*), *Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the Idols of Egypt shall be moved at his Presence.*

c See *Athan.* vol. 1. p. 102. e.

d *Prod. of Eg.* p. 65, 66.

e *S. Hieron.* Tom. 5. fol. 158. a.

f *Athan.* vol. 1. p. 89. c. and p. 165. a.

g *S. Hieron.* in Isa. p. 6.

h Isa. 19. 1.

From this Image of God in his Son Incarnate, this Ark of flesh, Divinity often shone on earth before his Instalment at Gods right hand. The mighty power of God in his Life, Miracles (*i*), Preaching; and sometimes in his Attendants the Angels; and in his very bodily appearance. Thus at his Transfiguration his raiment shone as the light, he being ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης (*k*), the brightness of the Glory or *Shechinah* of God. And afterwards such Heavenly Majesty shewed it self in him, that those who came to apprehend him as a Malefactor, fell at his feet as before a God.

i See *Hilar. Pict.* l. 1. *de Trin.* p. 154. a. b. c.

k Hebr. 1. 3.

This Jesus was the Ark of the new Covenant and of the Testimony of God; the witness of God faithful and true, as he is stiled in the *Revelation* (*l*) of Saint *John*. Jesus was in effect the whole house of Gods especial presence; the φορητὸν ἱερὸν, (the name which *Philo* gives the Tabernacle) or the μεταφορὰς, (or, it may be

l Revel. 1. 5. c. 3. 14.

be, if it were rightly printed, μεταφρενος ναὸς (as *Joſephus* calleth the Zodiack or the Sun moving in it) the portable, the walking Temple, who (like the rolling Sun which diſpenſeth his influence far and near) went about doing good; having no reſting-place for his Head, till he was fixed on Mount *Sion* above.

This is the Ark of God, exalted firſt on the Croſs, and then to Heaven. Whence God commandeth his bleſſing, ſending him by his Spirit and Goſpel to bleſs (*m*), and to turn all of us from our iniquity.

This Ark is the true Mercy-ſeat (*a*); the ἱλαστήριον, or Propitiatory, as he is called in the Epiſtle to the *Romans* (*b*), and the ἱλασμὸς, as St. *John* calleth him (*c*), that is, *the Propitiation for our ſins*. St. *Hierom* Commenting on thoſe words in the Verſion of *Ezekiel* (*d*), in the 43*d*. Chapter and 14*th*. verſe, [from the leſſer ſettle to the greater ſettle], and obſerving them to be rendred on this wiſe by the Seventy Interpreters, [From the leſſer to the greater Propitiatory (*e*)]: He applys the leſſer Propitiatory to Chriſt in the form of a ſervant, and the greater to Chriſt glorified in the Heavens. Here is then both the *Aaron* and *Aharon*, the true Ark and Prieſt of the moſt high God.

This Ark, or rather this entire Temple of God * like the Tabernacle in *Shiloh* (*f*), ſeemed for a time forſaken, poſſeſſed by the great *Philiſtin*, [for what is ſtronger than death?] and laid in the duſt; but God raiſed it up after three days in greater glory, and ſo as that it is never to fall again. This Ark was after a few days taken up into the true Sanctuary of God, where it remaineth till the reſtitution of all things; and whither our eyes and hearts are to direct themſelves in all Religious worſhip.

From that Sanctuary he appear'd in a glorious light to his firſt Martyr St. *Steven* when well awake, and whilſt

m Act. 3. 26. compared with 2 Sam. 6. 11, 12. and Pſal. 133. 3.

a See *Greg. Nyſſen. de vitâ Moyſis*. Tom. 1. p. 225.

b Rom. 3. 25.

c 1 Joh. 2. 2.

d S *Hier.* in Ezek. *Op.* Tom. 5. p. 540.

e *Severy* in Ezek. 43. 14. — Ἀπὸ τῶν ἱλαστηρίων ὡς μικρῶν ἕως τὸ ἱλαστήριον τὸ μέγα. —

* S. Joh. 2. 19, 21.

f 1 Sam. 4. 10, 11.

whilſt he directed his countenance towards Heaven, whither his ſpirit was ready to take its way. *He being full of the Holy Ghoſt* (or divine energy (*g*) *looked up ſtedfaſtly into Heaven, and ſaw the glory of God, and Jeſus ſtanding on the right hand of God.* Thence alſo he appeared to *Saul* in a light ſo vehement, that for a time it took away the uſe of his eyes. Thence he ſent the Holy Ghoſt at *Pentecoſt*, become now as it were the Subſtitute and *Shechinah* of the Glorified Jeſus. This hovered as a glorious flame over the heads of the Apoſtles, declaring them thereby the Repreſentatives of Chriſt on earth. Under this notion Chriſt is worſhipped by true and intelligent Chriſtians. This was the meaning of the Fathers in the Council of *Conſtantinople* [*h*], who denounced Anathema againſt thoſe who profeſſed not that "Chriſt aſcended was Intelle- "ctual fleſh, neither properly fleſh, nor yet Incorpo- "real, but viſible to them who have pierc'd him with- "out groſſneſs of fleſh. They believ'd it a great point of Chriſtianity that Jeſus God-man ſate in the Heavens in illuſtrious viſible glory. And this St. *John* ſaw in a Viſion, in which the *Logos* [*i*], the God Omnipotent [*k*], the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords [*l*], or Lamb, God-man [*m*] appeared on his Throne, Crowned, and with eyes like flames of fire. To this effect is a ſaying of *Euſebius* cited by Biſhop *Andrews* on the ſecond Command. I ſuppoſe he meaneth *Euſebius Dorylæus*, for he referreth to the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod, though I have not met with it in the Acts of that Council. *Euſebius* it ſeems, telleth *Conſtantia*, "That ſhe "muſt not any longer deſire an Image of Chriſt as he "is infirm man. For now (ſaid he) his Glory is much "greater than it appeared on the Mount, which if his "Apoſtles were then dazled with, how can it now be "expreſſed? This viſible Glory of Chriſt the Ancients

ſup-

g Acts 7. 55.

h *Conc. Conſt.* 7. *Oec. ap. Cap. Caroli Magni.* p. 47.

i Rev. 19. 13.
k Ver. 6.
l Ver. 16.
m V. 11, 12. See c. 22.

ſuppoſed ſituate in the Eaſtern part of the Heavens: and it occaſion'd (as I think) their directing of their worſhip towards the Eaſt. The Gentiles who worſhipped the Sun differed much from this external direction of their Faces. For they reſpected eſpecially the Eaſt-point by reaſon of the Sun-riſing thence [*a*]. And often at other parts of the day they altered their poſture. They ſometimes vail'd themſelves, ſaith *Plutarch*, and turned themſelves about with reſpect to the Heavenly motions. And *Triſmegiſtus* (in *Aſclepio*) relates, that it was a cuſtom of ſome of the Gentile-Devotioniſts at mid-day to look towards the South, and at Sun-ſet to look towards the Weſt. It was at the riſing of the Sun when *Lucian* was turned towards it by *Mithrobarzanes* * the *Chaldæan* Prieſt, who mumbled his Prayers in a low and indiſtinct tone at the riſing of that falſe God. They reſpected not always the Eaſtern Angle, though they had eſpecial regard to it, when the Sun appeared in it. They reſpected alſo the South and Weſt-points in their worſhip. Hence *Harpocrates* a child repreſented amongſt them the Sun in its riſing *; *Orus* a young man, the Sun in its Meridian; *Oſiris* an old man, the Sun-ſetting. This was alſo the way of the *Manichees* who ſuppoſed the Sun to be the Tabernacle of Chriſt. Of them St. *Auſtin* ſaith *, that their Prayers rolled about with the Sun.

a *Virg. Æn.* 12. *Illi ad ſurgentem conversi lumina Solem.* ——

* *Lucian in Necyom.* p. 159.

* See *Cuperi Harpocrat.* p. 101.

* *S. Aug. cont. Faustum.* l. 20. c. 5. *Ad Solis gyrum vestra oratio circumvolvitur.*

But the Ancients thought the *Shechinah* of Chriſt more fixed, and therefore did not in ſuch manner alter their Quarter. And that Quarter they eſteemed proper to the *Shechinah*, having read of the Meſſiah in the Old Teſtament under the name of the Eaſt; and following the Tranſlation of the Seventy [*b*], which thus readeth, *Pſalm* 68. 33. [*Sing unto God who aſcendeth above the Heaven of Heavens on the Eaſt.*] They alſo eſteemed *Jeruſalem* the middle of the Earth, and the

b LXX. in Pſal. 68. 33. ᾄδατε τῷ θεῷ ὁ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· —

parts which lay Eaſterly from thence they called the Eaſt, and amongſt them *Eden* about *Meſopotamia*. And they had a Tradition that Chriſt was Crucified with his face towards the Weſt, but that he aſcended with his face towards the Eaſt, and went up to a place in the Heavenly Paradiſe, ſtanding as it were over that of the Earthly [*c*]. But whatſoever men may conceive of the ſpace poſſeſſed by Chriſts meer body, they ought not to think of his *Shechinah* as of a confined light in ſome one Quarter of the Heavens; but as a glorious luſter filling all Heavens, and ſhining towards this Earth as a Circumference of Glory on a ſingle point. They ought to loſe their imaginations in an Abyſs of Light. One ſaith (and not amiſs) upon this ſubject *, "That as Earth heightned unto a flame, "changeth not its place only, but form and figure; ſo "the perſon of our Saviour was raiſed to a greatneſs, "a glory vaſtly differing from, and ſurmounting any "Image, all Images of things viſible or inviſible in "in this Creation. So 'tis fitly expreſſed (ſaith he) in "*Heb.* 7. 29. *He was made higher than the Heavens.* He "was heightned to a ſplendour, enlarged to a capacity "and a compaſs above the brighteſt, beyond the wi-"deſt Heavens.

c See *Damaſc. de Fide Orth.* l. 3. c. 13. p. 311, 312.

* P. *Sterry* in Serm. on Rev. 1. 7. p. 11.

From this Heavenly Throne Chriſt will come at the day of Judgment in a *Shechinah* of Clouds and flaming-fire: the mention of which fire ſometimes in the Scripture, and in the Commentaries of the ancient Fathers, without expreſs addition of that great day, has (as I conjecture) accidentally led part of the Chriſtian World into its miſtakes about Purgatory; in relation to which place I muſt yet confeſs my ſelf to be one of the *Nullibiſts*.

This *Shechinah* in milder, but moſt inexpreſſible luſter, I ſuppoſe to be that which the Schools call the *Beatifick*

Beatifick Viſion; and which the Scripture intendeth in the promiſe of ſeeing God face to face.

PART 7.

Of the Uſefulneſs of this Argument of Gods Shechinah.

THis Argument of Gods *Shechinah* may be many ways uſeful, if Intelligent perſons draw ſuch inferences from it as it offereth to their judgment. I will hint at ſome of them; for to inſiſt on any unleſs it be thoſe which concern the worſhip of Angels or Images, is beyond my ſcope.

And firſt of all by due attention to the premiſſes, an Anthropomorphite may bluſh at his rude conceit about the humane figure of the Divine ſubſtance, whoſe ſpiritual and immenſe amplitude is incapable of any natural figure or colour; though God by his *Logos* uſing the miniſtry of inferiour creatures, hath condeſcended to a viſible *Shechinah*.

Hence, ſecondly, thoſe people who run into the other extream, the *Spiritualiſts* and *abſtractive Familiſts*, may be induced to own the diſtinct ſubſtance of God, and the viſible perſon of Chriſt; and not to ſubtilize the Deity and its Perſons, and all its appearances into a meer notion, or into ſome quality, act, or habit of mans ſpirit; or to bow down to God no otherwiſe then as he is the pretended light or love in their own breaſts.

Thirdly, If this conſideration had entered with ſobriety into the minds of thoſe *German Anabaptiſts* [a], who with zeal contended that the very eſſence or ſubſtance of the Father was ſeen in the Son; and the very ſubſtance of the Spirit in the Dove; their diſputations would have been brought to a ſpeedy iſſue, or rather, they would never have been begun. They

[a] *Ap. Cloppenburg. Gangræn. Anab.* p. 281, 282.

would have known how to have diſtinguiſhed betwixt the inviſible God, and the viſible face or *Shechinah*, not as the very ſhape, but as the emblem and ſignificative Preſence of the Divinity.

Fourthly, For want of ſome ſuch notion as this, many other men of fanatick heads (ſuch as were moſt of the Hereticks who introduced novelty and tumult into the Church about the Perſons of the Trinity and nature of Chriſt) have plunged themſelves into unintelligible conceits. Of this number were the *Baſilidians*, who call'd the body of the Dove the Deacon; and the *Valentinians*, who ſtil'd it the ſpirit of cogitation, which deſcended on the fleſh of the *Logos*; thereby darkning the underſtanding with phraſes. If they had apprehended the *Logos* in his Præexiſtence or Incarnation, as the *Shechinah* of God, and would have expreſſed that notion without phantaſtical or amuſing terms, they might have inſtructed others, and ſeen the truth alſo better themſelves when they had clothed it in fit and becoming words.

Fifthly, This notion may not be unuſeful for the unfolding the Scriptures, which ſpeak of the Præexiſtence of Chriſt before he was God-man; and explain them naturally, and not with ſuch force and torture as they are expoſed to in the *Sorinian* Comments. He that ſaith *Abraham* ſaw the *Shechinah* of the Præexiſting *Logos*, and thence inferreth that Chriſt was before that Patriarck, ſpeaketh plain ſenſe. But he that ſays Chriſt was not till more than 2000 years after *Abrahams* death, yet that he was before him, becauſe he was before *Abraham* was *Abraham*, or before all Nations were bleſſed in his ſeed, the Gentiles not being yet called; ſuch a one ſpeaks like a Sophiſt, not an honeſt Interpreter; and forgets that Chriſts anſwer (before *Abraham* was, *I am*) follows upon this Interrogatory of the *Jews*, *Thou*

Thou art not yet fifty years old, and haſt thou ſeen Abraham?

Sixthly, This notion may further ſhew the error of thoſe Semi-Socinians, ſuch as *Vorſtius* and his Diſciples, who confound the Immenſity of the God-head, and the viſible Glory of the *Shechinah*, which God hath pleaſed as it were to circumſcribe. They will allow this King of the world no further room for his Immenſe ſubſtance than that which his eſpecial Preſence irradiates in his particular Palace (*a*). Which conceit though in part it be accommodable to the *Shechinah*; yet is it a preſumptuous limitation of the great God, when it is applied to his ſubſtance which Heaven and Earth together cannot contain.

a See *Vorſt. de Deo. Diſp.* 3. p. 22. & *Not. ad Diſp.* 3. p. 215, &c. & *Elucid. Pſeudo-Anſ.* c. 3. p. 458. *D. ubi habitat Deus? M. quamvis ubique potentialiter, tamen in Intellectuali Cœlo ſubſtantialiter.*

Furthermore, it is from hence in part, that we ſee and pity the blindneſs of ſome of the modern *Jews* (*b*), who notwithſtanding they are the profeſſed enemies of Divine Statues and Images, and have reaſon enough to believe that the Ark of God hath dwelt among us in a body of fleſh, and now ſhineth in the Heavens; do yet hope (ſome ſay) for an eſpecial preſence of God by furniſhing with a Cheſt and Roll of their Law, the places of their Religious Aſſemblies.

b See Mr. *Mede's* Works, p. 438.

Again, by conſidering with St. *Chryſoſtome* the Temple of *Solomon* as a Type, not only of the ſenſible but alſo of the inviſible world; and by conſidering further the *Shechinah* and Ark of God more eſpecially in the Holieſt of all than in the Sanctuary and more exterior Courts and ſpaces; we may illuſtrate that very uſeful and moſt probable notion of the degrees of Glory, and of the ſeveral Manſions prepared for ſeveral Eſtates in the Kingdom of Glory; where notwithſtanding every part will be ſo far, though inequally, filled with luſter, that all may be ſaid with open face to behold the Glory of God, and not thoſe only next the Cœleſtial

Ark.

Ark or Throne in the moſt holy place.

Bnt theſe things (as I ſaid) are beyond my ſcope; though appertinencies to my Argument; and therefore I will no further purſue them, but proceed to thoſe uſes of the notion which lye more directly in the way of my deſign. The firſt of them concerneth the worſhip of Angels, the ſecond of Images.

PART 8.

Of the Uſefulneſs of this Argument of Gods Shechinah, *with relation to the Worſhip of Angels and Images.*

FIrſt, The Worſhippers of Angels plead for their practice, from thoſe places in the Old Teſtament, which ſeem to ſpeak of high Veneration uſed towards them. *T. G.* (*a*) argueth from the Prayer [which indeed is rather the wiſh] of *Jacob*, where he ſaith, *The Angel who delivered me from all evils bleſs theſe Children* (*b*). The Manual called the Abridgment of Chriſtian Doctrine (*c*) would prove the Worſhip of *Dulia* to belong to Angels, from the falling of *Joſhua* flat to the ground when the Prince of the Hoſt of God appeared to him. The like proof is produced by the Catechiſm of *Trent* (*d*) from the bleſſing which *Jacob* obtained of the Angel with whom he ſtrugled. If Chriſt were conſidered as the Angel of the great Council appearing in caſes of moment under the Old Teſtament, and receiving the veneration moſt due to him; the Worſhippers of Angels would either change their weapons, or quite lay them down.

Then touching the Worſhip of Images, this notion is very ſerviceable in that controverted point; as likewiſe in the point of making either Religious Statues or Pictures. If any thing of the Divinity be to be portraied, we learn from hence what it may be, not the God-

a Cath. no Idol. p. 367.

b Gen. 48. 16.

c Pag 123. in Expoſ. of 1. Command.

d *Catech. ad Parochos, in 1. Præc.* p. 390.

Godhead but the *Shechinah*: That is viſible, and the expreſſing of it with the beſt lights and ſhadows of Art may therefore be not unlawful, though I know not whether I ought to plead for the expediency of it in common uſe. There was it ſeems in a Frontiſpiece of our Common-Prayer Books (*a*) ſome ſuch Embleme. The word *Jehovah* and a three corner'd radiant light and clouds, and Angels. He that took notice of this in Print, and might have obſerved the like before ſome of the great Church-Bibles, and ſomewhat worſe, the picture of a Dove with rays of glory before the *Biblia Polyglotta*, did not well to call it a repreſenting of God (*b*), and to charge that upon the Church which was the fancy of the Engraver and Printer. I have already noted a much worſe Frontiſpiece in each of the three parts of the Pontifical, where God is pictured as man. And in thoſe days in which the Biſhop of *Rome* ruled in *England*, there were Emblemes apt to ſuggeſt a very dangerous fancy to common brains; Pictures of the Trinity in three conjoined heads of human Figure. And ſo ordinary they were that they ſerved as Signs to the Shops of *Stationers*, as now do the Heads of a King or a Biſhop. And he that printed the *Pupilla Oculi* of *de Burgo*, was pleaſed to ſtamp his Sign in that manner on the Title-page of the Book. Nay, in the late Miſſal reprinted at *Paris* (*c*) there is none of the beſt faces of an Old man pictured amongſt Clouds and Angels over the Crucifix before the Canon of the Maſs. And though I know not how to commend theſe things, yet I will not blame them as acts of their whole Church.

a *Lond.* 1642.

b *T.G.* Cath. no Idol. p. 59.

c *Miſſ. Rom. Par.* 1660. p. 222.

It does not any-where appear to me that the *Jews* of old pictured the Ark or the Temple, though now they make models of the whole. How near they come to the Original I cannot tell; but it is certain, that in picturing the Sanctuary above, we create a Phantaſm, which

which needs much to be helped by our Reaſon and Faith; it being in it ſelf not equal in glory to thoſe of the Sun and the Rainbow.

It is true that Pictures are but ſigns, and that words are ſo too; but it is not expedient to deſcribe all things by the pencil which come from the voice. Words are Signs without Imagery in them, and they are tranſient (*a*). *Ye heard a voice only, but ye ſaw no ſimilitude*, ſaith God Almighty to the people, to whom he forbade Images (*b*). Words are properly the ſymbols of the conceptions of the mind, and not of the external object. They are notes of memory, and helps of diſcourſe. They are in themſelves a kind of ſpiritual and immaterial marks. And though ſometimes, eſpecially in Poetick characters, they bring to the fancy ſome preſent repreſentation, yet they thereby fix a notion rather than a proper conſtant phantaſm (unleſs where fancy is indulged); and they do not ſo groſly impreſs upon the brain the Image they convey, as a material Picture, which having alſo ſome tangible ſubſtance to ſuſtain it, is apt to be transform'd into an object of worſhip, diſtinct from the Prototype, in dull and ſenſitive minds. Beſides, when by words we convey to the mind a repreſentation of Heaven, or the *Shechinah* of God, we reſt not there, but following the pattern of the Holy writers, we offer to the mind what the Painter cannot to the eye, this further document, that we have not by far reached the original, and that it is indeed beyond all expreſſions but thoſe of admiration. When any ſuch Pictures hang before us, we ſhould in this manner exalt the phantaſm into mental aſtoniſhment, and not dwell on the mean portraict, but refine and exalt it by the aſſiſtance of the words of Scrip- " ture " which call the *Shechinah*, the excellent Glory, " the Throne before which the Cherubims fall down " with

a *Crell. Eth. p.* 329. *de Idol. minor eſt rerum auditarum aut lectarum, quam viſarum vis.*

b Deut. 4. 12.

" with vailed face, the light inacceſſible in which God " dwells, The Throne of the Lamb who is brighter " than the Sun: words by which the Pen aſſiſteth us " beyond any Pencil of *Angelo* or *Titian*; yet neither are their devotional pieces (where they mix not, as *Angelo* doth in his portraict of the Judgment, Heaven and Chriſtian Images; *Charon* and Chriſt) to be deſpis'd either as ornaments, or hints of memory.

In the *Catechiſm* of the *Council* of *Trent*, the Pariſh-Prieſt is required to take care (*a*) that Images be made, *Ad utriuſq; Teſtamenti cognoſcendam Hiſtoriam*, for procuring the knowledg of the Hiſtory of the *Bible*. And well it had been if it had ſtayed there: but it proceeds in requiring the Prieſt to teach the people that Images of Saints are placed in Churches, *ut Colantur*, that they may be worſhip'd: either the Images or the Saints by them. Better ſure, it were, to remove Images quite out of the Church, than to leave them as ſuch ſtumbling-blocks for the commonalty who are Children in underſtanding. When they ſee them only at a diſtance with their eye, they may ſometimes inſtruct them, and afford them hints of very good meditations: but when they are directed to bow down before them, and to them alſo, though with diſtinctions which the vulgar underſtand not, they, then, are, if Laymens Books, Books of Magick, rather than of Chriſtian Piety.

(*a*) *Cat. conc. Trid. in 1. al. 2. præc.* p. 396.

God, you ſee, hath provided a better remedy for mankind. His Son hath taken our nature into unity of perſon, and he offers himſelf to us as an object ſhining with glory and power in the Heavens, though not there, in his Godhead, confined: and therefore to uſe any Image of him otherwiſe then to be a hint to us of his more glorious one at Gods right hand, is to direct our devotion to the light of rotten Wood, or

Gold, or Pearl, when we have the Sun in the Firmament. If we worſhip Chriſts Image as apart from him, we do, in effect, divide Chriſt. If we worſhip it together with him, we, in effect, multiply Chriſt, joyning a ſecond lifeleſs body to his glorious one; and by that means adoring it, as if it were in perſonal union with him. They are ſafe who ſay with S. *Jerome*, (*b*) "We venerate only one Image [to wit Jeſus Chriſt] the Image of the Inviſible and Omnipotent God. When the Father brought this brightneſs of his glory (*a*) and the expreſs Image of his Perſon into the World, he ſaid, let all the Angels of God worſhip him. And now he hath inſtalled him as God-man and King of the world at his right hand, let us and all the world adore him. Let them worſhip him as God-man, and neither worſhip an undue Image on earth as joyned to his perſon, nor yet his heavenly body as apart by it ſelf. That, as join'd in unity of perſon, and now in glory, is our object; and a Crucifix ought not to be looked upon in prayer, as the preſent Image of Chriſt: for he is in Heaven glorious, and not on the Croſs. And though the Revelation of S. *John* ſpeaks of him as in Garments roll'd in blood; it mentions them not as miſerable apparel, but as the Purple of the King of Kings. The Capitular of *Charles* the Great (*b*) would have the Picture of Chriſts Reſurrection as frequent as that of his Croſs: but by both of them we look back; and if any be proper, in helping us, not meerly in our preparation, as the Crucifix may be; but in our immediate Religious addreſſes, it is, ſurely, a picture of him in Glory, if that could be well made: but neither is this to be worſhipped, but made only an help to excite our mind; nor is the humanity or body of Chriſt to be adored by it ſelf; yet in the manuals of the *Roman* Church I find

b S. Hieron. in Ezek. c. 16. p. 425. *Nos autem—unam venimur Imaginem. Quæ eſt Imago inviſibilis & omnipotentis Dei.*

a Heb. 1. 3, 6.

b Cap. C. Magni. p. 767.

find addreſſes to the very body; and I fear that upon the Feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, and in the object under the ſhews of bread (ſhews united in their act of devotion to Chriſts body), our Lord is divided. We have a form of Prayer to his body in the little *French* Manual (*c*) called *Petite Catechiſme*, and in the Litanies of the Sacrament (*d*). And the Learned Biſhop *Uſher*, in his Sermon before the Commons (*e*), mentions the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Book of *Sanders* concerning the Lords Supper, thus ſuperſcribed. "To "the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, "under the forms of bread and wine, all honour, "praiſe, and thanks, be given for ever. A Judicious Chriſtian would rather aſcribe all praiſe and honour to Chriſt God-man. Whole Chriſt let us ſupplicate and honour, helping our Imagination by his *Shechinah* in Glory, and remembring the words of St. *Auſtin*, noted as remarkable by *Agobardus* (*f*) Arch-Biſhop of *Lyons*, a man zealous in his Age againſt the corruptions of Image-worſhip, and ill requited in his memory by them, who, (as *Baluzius* noteth (*g*)) eſteem him the leſs Catholick for it. "In the firſt Command-"ment (ſaith S. *Auſtine*) [that is in the whole of "that, which himſelf, elſewhere, in his Queſtions of "the *Old* and *New-Teſtament*, divides into firſt and "ſecond] each ſimilitude of God is forbidden to be "made by men; not becauſe God hath no Image, but "becauſe no Image of his ought to be worſhipped but "that which is the ſame with himſelf, nor that, for "him, but with him.

God aſſiſting us with this Image, why ſhould any religious Acts have any lower object total or partial? Images ſet up as any ſort of objects of our inward or external devotion, are a ſort of Anti-Arks. And we ought not to touch them; not becauſe they are ſa-

c *Pet. Cat.* p. 119. *Oraiſ. devote en Oyant la Meſſe.*—*ô Corps ſacre de Jeſus,*— *je vous adore avec tant de reverence qu'il eſt poſſible*—&c.

d *Leſ. Litan. de S. Sacr.* p. 295: *Panis Omnipotentis verbi verbo caro factus miſerere nobis.*

e Bp. *uſh.* Ser. p. 38, 39.

f *Agobar. in libr. contra Eor. ſuperſtit. Qui Pict. & Imagin. Sanctorum adorationis obſequium deferendum putarunt.* p. 221.

g *Baluz. not. ad Agobard.* p. 88, 89.

cred, but becauſe they are unhallowed objects. And worſe ſtill they are rendred, too often, by impious Art, which maketh the lifeleſs Image (as in the Rood of *Bockley*) by help of Wiers, and other inſtruments of Puppetry, to bend, to frown, to roll the eyes; to weep, to bleed; to exhibit ſigns of favour or diſpleaſure. This indeed, is not the conſtitution, but 'tis the frequent practice of ſome in that Church: and hereby are framed ſo many ſnares for the people who turn ſuch Images into Chriſts *Shechinah*. For if certain Monks (who were alſo ſhepheards, and people of low conception) became, through their ruſticity, abſurd *Anthropomorphites*, by reading the bare words of Scripture, where it ſaith, that *God created man in his own Image*; how much more will mean people have corrupt fancies begotten in them by falſe Images, which their eyes may ſee, and their hands may handle. Such will turn a common Cheſt into an Ark; and a wooden Engine into the Divine *Shechinah*. "Of the *Sindon* "at *Beſanſon*, *Chiffletius* a Papiſt reporteth, That great "numbers met twice a year on a Mountain nigh the "City, to adore that cloth with Chriſts Image on it. "Of it, he further ſaith, that it always ſhineth with "a Divine preſence [that is, in effect, that it is a *She-*"*chinah* of God], and that in great emergencies it is "carried in proceſſion like the Ark, being yet more "holy than that *Moſaic* Veſſel. How ſhall the people not fall into Idolatry, when ſuch falſe *Shechinahs* or Idols are layd in their way? How much more would it tend to edification to direct them to the Image of God, who ſitteth in Glory at Gods right hand, and whom our minds the leſs behold in our devotions, the more our eye is fixed upon an Image of wood or ſtone. In the City or Church of God, deſcribed in the 21*ſt* chapter of S. *Johns Revelation*, There was no Temple

no

no material fixed place of Gods viſible *Shechinah* [though there muſt be Synagogues or Places for publick Aſſemblies]; but Chriſt himſelf was the Light or *Shechinah:* and therefore to him, as to the only true Image of the inviſible God, it is proper to direct our Cogitations and Prayers. And let not any man think that becauſe the *Shechinah* is in Heaven, and not viſibly in a Church, as the *Shechinah* was in the Temple of the *Jews*; that therefore Chriſtians have leſs aſſiſtance than Gods ancient People: for they have that which is much more excellent. The Glory on the Ark was only a mixture of ſhapeleſs lights and ſhadows: and in the Temple, the people ſeldom ſaw it, but being aſſured of it, did view it in their imagination. And few of them had other apprehenſions of it, than as of the preſence of God the deliverer and Protector of that Commonwealth.

But Chriſtians (a people under a more ſpiritual diſpenſation than the *Jews*) though they ſee not the *Shechinah* with their eyes on earth, yet, from the words of Scripture, they can excite their minds to behold it, even in the Sanctuary of Heaven. And they behold it in the figure of God-incarnate; an Image, not confuſed, but of a diſtinct perſon: an Image which brings to their mind the greateſt and moſt comfortable myſtery of the means of Salvation; apteſt to encourage our Prayers, and to enflame our Zeal, and to raiſe our Admiration.

Some objects indeed, are, on earth, expoſed to the eyes of Chriſtians, by the Inſtitution of our Lord; the elements of Bread and Wine. And the βῆμα, or place on which they are conſecrated is, at this day, called, in the *Greek* Church, (*a*) ἱλαστήριον, *the Propitiatory or mercy-Seat.* And a late Author (*b*) reporteth of the *Abaſſine* Prieſts, upon the Authority of *Co-*

a See *de ſtatu Eccl. Græ. hod.* p. 41, 44, 45.

b Ogilby in Af. frica. p. 654

Codignus, (though in *Codignus* I could never find it (*a*)) That they bleſſed a certain Shrine or Coffer of the Sacrament, underſtanding by it the Ark of the Covenant. But Chriſt hath ordained no Cherubims on this Ark: He hath not uſed any Images, but pledges of his dying love. Theſe pledges, with ſafety, call his paſſion to remembrance without any Image on the Table, which the *Gallican* Church, of old, forbad, in the Council of *Rhemes*, even after ſome corruptions had crept in (*b*). Neither ſhould we detain our Fancy amongſt thoſe Pledges; but obey the *ſurſum Corda* of the Ancient Church. It ſeemeth incongruous to reſt on the Symbols, or to bow down to them; they being, as it were, the diſhes in our ſacred Commemoration, or Feſtival of Chriſt crûcified; but it more becometh us to lift up our heart, and eyes, and hands, and faith, with humble reverence towards the Heavens, and to worſhip God-man in Glory: To adore our great Maſter and Benefactour Jeſus, not as ſuffering on *Calvary*, but as triumphing in the Sanctuary not made with hands.

a See *Codign. de Rebus Abaſſin.* l. 1. c. 35. *de Sacram. Abaſſ.* p. 212, &c.

b *Regin.* l. 1: *de Eccl. Diſc. Conſt.* 60. p. 53. *obſervandum eſt ut menſa Chriſti, id eſt, altare ubi corpus domini cum conſecratur, &c. cum omni veneratione* [not *cultu*] *honoretur, &c. nihilq; ſuper to ponatur niſi capſæ cum ſanctorum Reliquiis, & Quatuor Evangelia. Baluz. not. ad Loc. Regin.* p. 549. *videtur ergo prohibere ne Imagines ſuper altare ponantur in quo Corpus dominicum conſecratur.*

A Re-

CHAP. XV.

A REVIEW and CONCLUSION.

A. I Have read over your *Diſcourſe of Idolatry*, and if you pleaſe I will ſpend a few Animadverſions upon it.

B. With all my heart. I take ſuch liberty ſometimes, and therefore I have reaſon to give it. The truth is, I am not wondrouſly pleaſed, my ſelf, with what I have done. And I believe the performance of few men does anſwer to the Idea which they had form'd in their heads.

A. I neither frame Models, nor work by them; but I make bold to animadvert on thoſe that do. And if they will talk to the world, they muſt expect that the world will talk again. As to your Performance, my *Remarks* in the general are but *Two*; But the particular ones are enough to weary you, though you were a ſecond *Fabius*.

B. Pray try what ſtock of Patience I am Maſter of: Though that is uſually very ſmall when men are to hear of their own faults.

A. They may be mine; for no body offends oftner than he who cenſures. At leaſt he runs the hazard of offending; this being as true as moſt *Proverbs*, That *he who kicks at others is himſelf half way to a fall.* But let us *come to the Points.*

I obſerve, firſt, That *you have choſen a very beaten Argument*, and never more beaten than at this time. And next, that you will nauſeate the nice Readers of this Age with your numerous *Citations*, which are in

 truth

truth ſo many that they make the Book ſeem the leſs your own.

B. 'Tis true, the Argument is a beaten one; a ſubject handled by *Maimonides*, *Viretus*, *Voſſius*, *Reinolds*, *Selden*, and many others of great Learning. But I cannot ſay that it was wholly *of my own chuſing*; nor can I tell you all the occaſions of it, unleſs I break open the ſeal of Confeſſion. But be the Argument as beaten as it will; I hope there may be ſomething ſaid in it, not ſaid before; as in a *Mine* which hath been wrought in for many years, ſome mean Labourer may find *a new vein of Oar*. However, there muſt be new Books for them whoſe curioſity will not incline them to look back upon the old ones. And there muſt be many upon every uſeful ſubject, that the differing Genius of each Reader may be gratified by an innocent compliance with it. And the very concurrence of many at this time in this one ſubject, does ſhew that they judged it highly uſeful for this age; though it may be ſome would have ſpared their pains had they had a window into the *Studies* of others, and ſeen what they were a doing. And further, I aſſure you upon the obſervation of others as well as upon my own, that the *very newneſs of the faſhion* in any Book upon a weighty ſubject, is ſome way inſtrumental in carrying on the *Trade of Learning*.

For the Citations, an Hiſtorical and Philological Argument cannot be managed without them. Ancient cuſtoms and matters of Fact are not to be invented but remembred. And though I fetch many Materials from the Ancients, I loſe no more my property in this writing (were that worth the contending for) than a *Hollander* does in any of his Veſſels, whoſe Timber was imported from *Norweigh*, and grew not at home.

A. I agree with you, adding this to what you have ſaid,

ſaid, that the Margent is as often left clear out of Ignorance and lazineſs, as it is garniſhed out of Pedantry.

I have done with my general Remarks. Now for thoſe which are more particular.

In *Chap.* 2. *p.*15. you ſeem to commit a little miſtake about *Zaradſas*, or *Zaratas*, ſaid by *Plutarch* to be the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*. He was not therefore what you would make him the ſame with *Zoroaſter*, who was at leaſt as much before him as *Socrates* before *Plato* and *Zenophon*.

B. Plutarch himſelf does not ſay it. The Tranſlator (rather ſure out of miſattention than ignorance) renders him thus (*a*), *Zaratas Pythagoræ Diſcipulus.* Whereas this is the Original, ὁ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος, *Zaratas the Maſter of Pythagoras.*

*a Plutarch. de Procreat. Anim. p.*1012. *Ed. Frant.*

A. In the ſame Page, in *page* 76, as likewiſe in many others, you mention the two Principles of *Pythagoras*; but you do not any-where tell us diſtinctly what he meaneth by them.

A: 'Tis not an eaſie matter to do it. The ancient Philoſophers (eſpecially thoſe whoſe Heads were touched with Magick and Enthuſiaſm) underſtood divers things by the ſame names. But theſe two Principles are moſt literally expounded of the *Demiourgus*, or Soul of the World; and *Hyle*, or matter, his Ἀνάγκη, or fatal original of Evil (*b*), which he and his followers aſcribed to the untameable nature of it.

b See *Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ.* l.1.c.3. p.876. & *Plotin.* l.8. *Enn.*1. & *Chalcid. in* Tim. p.396. *juxta Platonem bona ſua Dei, tanquam patris liberalitate, collata ſunt: mala verò materiæ ſylvæ vitio cohæſerunt.*

A. I go on. In *Chap.*5. *p.* 55, *&c.* you are very brief in your proof of the acknowledgment of one Supreme God amongſt the Gentiles; and well it is you are ſo. That Argument has been conſidered at large by others with great Learning. And of theſe ſome have appear'd ſince your Papers were under the Preſs. So that in your brevity you are either diſcreet or lucky.

B. What you please. I could wish that I had been more brief than I am; and then I had been guilty of fewer mistakes. I find that I have cited some words of *Plato*'s as acknowledgments of one supreme God, which he spake not of him *but of the Soul of the World.* Such are those cited by me in *pag.* 57. where he is said to call God *the Maker and Father of every thing.* That's the proper *Platonick* Title of the *Soul of the World* (*a*), to which the frame of the visible Universe, and its generation is ascribed. And the context so plainly inforceth that sense that I wonder it needed my second thoughts. He speaks of that third principle in many other places which are frequently misapplied to the [τὸ ἕν, or] one Supreme God.

A. You have company in your mistake, though perhaps you will be singular in your Retractation. But to proceed. In *Chap.* 3. *pag.* 35. you insinuate that the *Platonists* judged the *Soul of the World* to be rather a *Form assisting than Informing.* Whereas they held this World to be one mighty Animal.

B. Nothing can be more absurd than that which some *Platonists* held. But *Plato* himself, though he said the World was (*b*) [ζῶον ἔμψυχον,] a living Creature endued with a Soul; yet he meant not by the *Animation* of this World, either the vital union of the *highest Psyche* to all matter; or (as some have conceived, whilst they have pleased to measure him by the doubtful phrases of *Plotinus*) of a *secondary Soul of the World* to the formed Subcœlestial *Hyle* which the *Chaldee* Oracles (*c*) call the *Throne of Matter*, [to which (as they speak) there is a descent by the seven steps of the Planets] and *the Fund of it.* But by this *Plato* understood (*d*) *the vital union* of Souls to some part of it, the *Presential union* of inferior Dæmons to certain Statues in it (*e*); and the *Order*, or (as he calls it, κρᾶμα) the

a *Plat. Tim.* p.33. *Min. in Octav. Platoni, in Timæo, Deus est ipso nomine mundi Parens.*

b *Plato in Timæo.* p.30.

c *Chald. Or.* p.70. under the seven Planets is ἀνάγκης θρόνος. *Psell. Summar. Dogm. Chald.* p. 111. —καλοῦσι βυθόν.

d See *Timæum de An. Mundi*, p.95. *Ed. Serr.*

e See *Jamblic. de vitâ Pythag.* c. 28. p. 138, 139.—— ἱσταμένους αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, &c. ἱδρύμασι. There stop, if you will read that place right, & then for τοῖς θεοῖς read τοὺς θεοὺς, not with *Arcerius*, τοῖς θείοις.

the *Temperament* of all the parts adjuſted by *Pſyche*.

A. In *Chap.* 5. *pag.* 57, 59. You ſeem to make Ἰάω, *Jehovah*, and *Jove* the ſame; which was not always your opinion.

B. I do but ſeem ſo; I think as I did. For *Jupiter*, I believe as *Varro* believed, and do think it comes à *Juvando*. For *Jupiter* (or, as the *Engliſh* often pronounce it *Jubiter*) or *Juviter* are the ſame; p. b. v. being frequently uſed for one another. Nor can I approve of the Etymology of *Juvans Pater*; for *ter* in *Jupiter* is a meer termination; and *Jupiter* is no more *Juvans pater*, than *Accipiter is accipiens pater*.

Concerning *Jehovah* I ſtill think that the word is the ſame in effect with Ἰάω, though not the pronunciation of it: a ſound (ſome believe) ſo very modern that it is ſaid to have been firſt heard from the mouth of *Galatinus*. The ancient יהוה now pronounced *Jehovah*, was in all likelihood ſounded, *Jahveh*. So the *Samaritans* pronounced it, of whoſe Ἰαβὲ, (or *Jave*, the *Vau* by the *Greeks* being as in Δαβὶδ, turned into *Beta*) we read in *Theodoret*'s Queſtions on *Exodus*. And from them (who changed not their ancient Letters, nor received the *Judaic* Oral Cabala) we are more likely to underſtand the Pronunciation, than from the *Jews* miſled by the *Phariſees*, who in and after the *Maccabean* times, began or promoted very many Superſtitions about the words of the Bible. They did ſo particularly about the *Tetragrammaton*, whoſe Original ſound being ſoftly pronounced, and as is related by *Rabbi Tarphon* (*a*), ſupped up as it were by the mumbling Prieſt, was by degrees perfectly loſt amongſt moſt *Jews* and their Schollars: Inſomuch that *Origen* in the Fragment of his *Hexapla* mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtome*, as alſo many others read it, *Adonai*. So doth the vulgar *Latin* in *Exod.* 6. 3. though in all other places it renders it by

(*a*) R. *Tar.* ap. *Capell. in Orati de Nom. Jeh. ad calc. Crit.* P. 698.

Dominus. The *Seventy* turn it by Κύριος, St. *Hierom* by *Dominus*; though somewhere (as *Mercer* (*a*) noteth) he calleth it *Jaho*. That it ended in *Omega*, as in Ἰάω, was a corruption apt to happen to all names which are taken out of one Language into another. The occasion of it might be this: The power of the *Samaritan Heth* answered by the *Greek* η or ει (*b*) which by negligence was perhaps sometimes written, and thence in process of time pronounced as ω which is as I may so say, but a kind of *Epsilon* laid on its back.

a *Mercer* in Gen. 11. 4.

b See *Bochart. in Can.* l. 1. c. 20. p. 491.

A. It may be so for ought that comes now into my mind. I pass on to another Note. In *Chap.* 5. *pag.* 62. you tell us that the Heathens used the Form of Κύριος ἐλέησον, but you give us no greater Authority for it than your bare word.

B. You may if you please take it upon the word of *Arrian* in his second Book on *Epictetus* (*c*).

c *Arr. in Epict.* l. 2. c. 7. p. 186.

A. In *Chap.* 5. *pag.* 77. you seem to approve of the opinion of *Petavius*, who *maketh Arius a genuine Platonist*: whereas it is manifest (and the Learned have taken notice of it) that *Plato* made his *second Principle eternal*; whilst *Arius* said, *There was a time when he was not at all.*

B. I only cite his words, I do not justifie them. The *Logos* of *Arius* is not so like to the *Nous*, as to the *Psyche* of *Plato*; to the *Demiourgus* who framed (as he fancieth) the visible World. Yet thus far *Petavius* is in the right. He asserteth upon good grounds that *Arius* was infected with *Platonism*, and that with *Plato* he made the Principle that framed this World to be a distinct substance, which was not *very* God; though he did not affirm with that Philosopher, that it was coeternal with the self-originated Deity; and for that it was not a priviledg in *Plato*'s judgment very extraordinary, for he alloweth it to *Matter* it self; I mean the *unformed Hyle*.

* *A.* Well

A. We'l examine theſe things anon. In the mean time I would ask you, why, in this *77th* page, you obſerve it as a thing worthy an Aſteriſc, that the *Platoniſts* call the *Nous*, *unbegotten*, and, *Parent to it ſelf?* For they mean no more than that the *Nous* was from the *T' Agathon* by eternal *emanation*, and not, as this World from *Pſyche*, by temporal *Generation* or formation.

B. They mean no more. Neither did I think it a deep remark, but I the rather obſerv'd it, becauſe holy Writers have declined ſuch terms; not adhering to them ſo very much as ſome Imagine they do. And when they uſe them, they do it not ſo much to countenance the Platonick notions, as to oppoſe them. So when S. *John* ſaith, *In the beginning was the Logos*, &c. he meaneth it not either of the *Logos* or *Demiourgus* of *Plato*, but, rather, in oppoſition to them: as if he had ſaid; *Chriſt, not your fictitious, but the true Logos*, was ever with God, and God alſo; and the maker of all things.

A. I perceive by this, and by that which I find in many other Places, that you have not forgotten the old ſaying; *Plato is my friend, but Truth is more.* Nay, you ſeem to have a kind of Pique at *Platoniſm*, and will, I fear, provoke the *Ficinus's of this age.*

B. I do not with deſign oppoſe, or challenge any of them: And I think they are men of better temper then to make every light notion ſo much their Miſtreſs, as to Duel me for it. And I heartily wiſh that the indecent and irrational way, uſed by ſome Writers, of hitting one another, fiercely, in the Teeth, with their *little barren ſpeculations*, were as much laid aſide, as is the cuſtom of fighting with *Sandbags*. But, what are the particulars (I beſeech you) in which I may ſeem to offend the Platoniſts?

A. They

A. They are many. And (not to hover in generals only) I tell you particularly, that you are irreverend towards their *Triad*; a notion as dear to a Platoniſt, as *Diana* to an *Epheſian*. It is true in Chap. 5. p. 79. You take notice of the three Platonick Principles, as diſtinct ſubſtances; and they themſelves do ſo likewiſe: but, then, you ſay not a word of that *Union*, whereby thoſe *Three ſubſtances*, *of the ſame ſpecies, though numerically differing, become but one God.*

B. Suppoſe that to have been *Plato's* mind: How would it have agreed to the one God of the Chriſtians, whom S. *Paul* oppoſeth to *Gods many*, or many ſuperior Spirits, and *Lords many*, or many inferior Spirits, though of the ſame ſpecies in each order? But I ſee not, any-where in *Plato*, that this was his opinion, though *Plotinus*, who lived where Chriſtianity was planted, doth, ſometimes, expreſs himſelf in that manner. At other times, the ſame *Plotin*, (who is a kind of *Platonick* Familiſt) doth no otherwiſe unite his three Principles then by the union of a Center (*a*), a leſſer, and a greater circumference, which no man can conceive, exactly in one another. When he ſaith that the *T' Agathon*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*, are joyned, he meaneth rather that there is nothing *betwixt them*, than that, by mutual penetration, and vital union, *they are one.* He interprets himſelf, in that Chapter, by ſaying of the three Principles, that there is [μεταξυ ουδεν.] *nothing that interveneth.* No more doth any Planet come betwixt *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and yet they are three Planets, not one. And this ſeems to be the [διαστημα αδιαστατων or] the *Indiſtant Diſtance* of which notion he darkneth the ſenſe by his obſcure Phraſeology. If he meant much more; *Plato* did not; nor could he, with conſiſtence.

(*a*) *Plotin. Enn. ad.* 5. l. 1. c. 6.

That

That the Ἀιτία or *T' Agathon* of *Plato* was the supreme God, I have already owned. To him agreeth that description of God, that he is [ἀναίτιος and παναίτιος] *without Cause*, and *the Cause of every thing else:* Though I find also that Nature, or the indefinite Power of matter and motion, the *Venus of the Lucretians*, is said to be without Cause, and, in *Phurnutus*, called Παναιτίη, the Cause of all things; that is, of all the modifications of matter, and the Phænomena of the visible Universe.

But that *Plato's Nous* or *Demiourgus* contain in them the Idea of a God, or a Being absolutely perfect, is most contrary to the general Air of *Platonism*, whatsoever little independent sayings may be, that way, misapplied. Wherefore, in Chap. 5. p. 79. I have called *Nous* and *Psyche*, *eminent Dæmons*, (*a*) and *not Divine Persons*, though τὸ δαιμόνιον is often used to signifie the supreme God (*b*), as in that place where the Philosopher affirmeth, that [τὸ Δαιμόνιον] or *the Divinity*, is not [φθόνερον] *an envious Being. In the Oracles of Zoroaster* (*c*) it is affirmed, that *the supreme God withdrew himself from the world:* By which is not meant that he sequestred himself wholly from all the affairs of it, but (as *Pletho* noteth) that he did not communicate his Divinity, either to the *Nous*, or *to the second God*, by which is understood, in those *Chaldee* Oracles, not the *Logos*, but the *Demiourgus* or *Psyche*. For the *Nous*, It is not one single principle, but a kind of Pantheon, *a Collection of many Ideas* or Spirits, as *Aristotle*, who lay nigh to the bosom of *Plato*, doth truly construe him. It is such a thing as *Christophorus Sandius* (in whose brain Paradoxes naturally flutter) doth fancy the Spirit of God to be. For, in a distinct Treatise (*d*) he endeavoureth to prove, that it is *the Body of the Good Angels*. Hence, some-

a See *M. Thorndike's Epil.* part 3. p. 291.

b See *Arrian.* in *Epict.* fl. 4. c. 4. p. 387.

c *Pletho in Orac. Mag.* p. 49. ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασεν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ νοερᾷ δυνάμει, ἢ τοι τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν δευτέρῳ θεῷ κλείσας, ἢ τοι ὁρίσας τὸ ἴδιον πῦρ τὴν ἰδίαν δὴ θεότητα.

d *C. C. S. Tract. de Sp. Sancto.* p. 4. *Sp. S.* —— *tota collectio spirituum Sanctorum.*

sometimes, the three Principles are called *T' Agathon*, *Ideai*, and *Psyche*. Hence he find it called the *Exemplar*, or rather that which afforded an Exemplar (they distinguishing nicely betwixt the form, and the thing formed); that is, the *Intellectual World*, according to whose pattern this sensible World is said to be made. They who wholly blame the later Platonists for such Ideas, excusing *Plato*; are very unjust: For they drub the feet when the Head was first in Fault. The *Exemplar*, saith *Plato* (*a*) *is all the Intelligible Animals in it self*, as this World is *the circle of such as are sensible*. In another Book (*b*) he saith, that the Intellectual World containeth in it all Intelligent Animals; as this sensible world containeth us, and all living creatures. The same Philosopher, in the Conclusion of his *Timæus* (*c*), asserteth *that this sensible world is the* [εἰκὼν or] *second Image of the Intellectual God*. Also, in the conclusion of the *Book of the soul of the world* (*d*) he thus discourseth. *The Ruler of all* (he speaks of *Psyche*) *hath committed the Inspection and Government of the world to Dæmons. He made this world full of Dæmons, and Men, and other Animals, after the pattern of the best Image, of the ungenerated eternal* εἶδος *or Form*; meaning that of the *Nous*. And he had said before that (*e*) this world was [τῶν ἀϊδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα] *the generated Image of the eternal Gods*; of which, therefore, the Collection made up the *Nous* or *Intellectual world*.

Plato thus expressing himself, it is no wonder that it is said in the *Chaldee* Oracles (*f*), that the *supreme God delivered to the second God* (or *Psyche*) *all the Intelligible Ideas*. Nor need we think it strange to hear *Philo* speak of *an Intellectual Sun and Stars*.

A. If it be thus, That the *Nous* is an Intellectual world, and that this world is a kind of second Temple

a *Plato* in *Timæo de An. Mundi*. p 95.-- ὅτι καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα---περιέχον πάντα τὰ νοατὰ, ζῶα ἐν αὐτῷ· οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς ἀπέλιπεν ἄλλο, ὅρος ὢν νοατῶν παντελὴς, ὡς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος αἰσθητῶν.

b *Plato* in *Timæo*. p. 30.— τὰ γὰρ δὴ νοητὰ ζῶα πάντα ἐκεῖνο ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιλαβὸν ἔχει, καθάπερ ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἡμὰς, &c.

c *Plato* in *Timæo*. p. 92. Ἐικὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ Θεοῦ, αἰσθητὸς, &c.

d *De An. Mundi*. p. 105.

e *Plato* in *Timæo*. p 33.

f *Orac. Mag. Zor*. p. 46 ---- τὰ νοητὰ εἴδη —τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν δευτέρῳ Θεῷ παρέδωκεν.

ple made after the fashion of that first, though inferior to it in Glory, why do you (in Chap. 5. pag. 79.) call the *Nous*, *one Thing*, *Being*, *or Person?*

B. A Thing, it may be called, as this world is, being one Collection of things: And *a Person* (a publick Person) being a Collection of Intelligent Beings, of which the principal *Nous* or spirit, seemeth to answer to the visible Sun; *Plotin* mentioning it by it self, and then speaking of the beauty of the *Ideas* which he there (*a*) calls [πάντας θεὺς νοητούς,] All the Intelligible Gods. Thus we call the Collection of evil Spirits, and the Prince of them, by the name of *Devil*: And, in the Evangelical History, the Principal spirit in a man possessed, answered in the singular, though he said, *his name was Legion.*

a *Plotin. Enn.* 5. l. 1. c. 7.

Plato himself calls this visible world (*b*) αἰσθητὸν θεὸν, a sensible god, and θεὸν γενητὸν, a generated god, though it be a Collection of innumerable Things and Persons: and, by the same reason, he may call the Intellectual world (as indeed he doth) νοητὸν θεὸν, an Intelligent god or *Nous*, though it be not a single principle. The like may be said of *Logos*, which *Philo* so understood, or else he would not, sometimes, have called this world, *Logon*, as I have shewed him to have done (*c*).

b *Plato* in *Timæo.* p. 92. & *de Animâ mundi.* p. 94.

c In Chap. 14. of *Sect.*

The *Chaldee* Oracles call the *Demiourgus*, *the second God*; and he is more properly so than the *Nous*: yet neither hath that principle in it, the true Idea of God.

A. How doth that appear?

B. Two ways; for, *First*, it containeth not, in it, Infinite Wisdom, but standeth in need of a Pattern to work by, an external Exemplar: for *Psyche* is represented as an under-Artist, not having the Idea or Model in its own mind, but following one exhibited

by his ſuperior Maſter. *He made the world* (ſaith *Timæus* (*a*)) *after the eternal form. Secondly*, It containeth not in it Omnipotence. For though it framed the world very excellently, yet it is ſaid to have been, in part, reſiſted by the ſtubbornneſs of *Hyle*, and not to have done all it deſired, but all it could. *Plato* ſaith, in his *Timæus* (*b*), that God (or *Pſyche*) deſigned *all things to be good, and nothing to be evil*, κατὰ δύναμιν, as far as nature would ſuffer him; and again, as far as it was δυνατὸν, a poſſible thing. It ſeems the matter was not ſuch pliable wax as would receive the impreſſion in ſuch manner as *Pſyche* would have been pleaſed with. To this effect there is a remarkable place in *Hierocles* who thus repeateth the opinion of certain followers of *Plato* (*c*) who queſtion'd both the Infinite Wiſdom and Power of *Pſyche*. They think not that there is [" In the " *Demiourgus*] ſufficient power, whereby, through " its own wiſdom (by which it maketh things, *out of* " *eternal matter*) [for ſo I conſtrue ἐξαϊδίου, and not, " with the Tranſlator, *Qua ab omni eternitate Res efficit*, which contradicteth the ſcope of the place,] the world may perfectly be ordered; but that ἀγεννήτου " ὕλης συνεργία, by the mutual aid of unbegotten *Hyle*, " and by uſing extrinſick nature exhibited before it, " it may accompliſh its work. It is true, the common Copy Reads it, γενητῆς ὕλης συνεργία, and (which ſurprizeth me) *Grotius* tranſlateth it (*d*) *generatæ materiæ miniſterio*. But it is directly contrary to the tenor of the Platoniſts there cited, and to the following Diſcourſe: which is ſuch, that *Hierocles* believ'd (*e*) they held matter to be [ἀγένητον] ungenerated, not only [ἀπὸ χρόνου] as being before time, which they ſay, began with the ſenſible world; but, likewiſe, [ἀπὸ Αἰτιῶν] as being without all Cauſe; in which

a *De Animâ mundi* p. 105. See *Plut. de An. Procr.* p. 1014.

b *Plato in Timæo.* p. 30. & p. 53.

c *Hierocles de Providentiâ:* p. 6.

d *Grotius in Sent. Philoſ. de Fato.* p. 20.

e *Hierocl. de Prov.* p. 8.

which ſenſe the *T' Agathon* only is to be called *unbegotten*. By this, it ſhould ſeem, that the *Demiourgus* is but [δοῦλος Ἀνάγκης] the ſervant of matter, as the *Egyptians* in *Herodotus* do ſtile him. And this *Plutarch* (*a*) alſo teacheth, ſaying, "The eſſence of Mat-"ter out of which this World was made, was not ge-"nerated, but laid always (as far as it could) before "the Workman, to be diſpoſed and ordered by him "according to his Exemplar or likeneſs [ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν "σαφέστατα] as much as poſſible might be.

A. This puts me in mind of what you affirmed before, that *Matter* was by *Plato* made to be *eternal*. So did *Theodoret* before you (*b*), as well as *Plutarch*. But is this manifeſt from *Plato* himſelf?

B. It is. Inſomuch that by ſome *Platoniſts Hyle* is called *the Siſter of Pſyche* (*c*). *Plato* in *Timæus* (*d*), *of the Soul of the World*, does expreſsly call [ὕλαν, or] *Matter* [ἀΐδιον] *eternal*, and [ἀγένητον] *unbegotten*. And again he ſaith in the ſame Page, that *before the Heaven was made* (by which in that place he means this World) *there exiſted in the Logos*, (or Intellectual World) *Idea, and matter*; to which he adds alſo in that Diſcourſe, the *Demiourgus*.

A. What then is the meaning of the making of the World, and the novity of its eſſence, ſo often mentioned in the School of *Plato*?

B. There is meant by it not any Temporal Creation of the very ſubſtance of *Matter*, *but the production of this form* * *out of formleſs Hyle*, which they called Ἀνοσμίαν (*e*), or *ſhapeleſneſs*. God (ſaith *Plato* *, meaning *Pſyche*) made this World [ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς ὕλης,] of all the Præexiſtent Matter. *He made it* [ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων] *out of the things not ſeen* (*f*), (out of ſimple Matter void of *Phænomena*), *but not* (ſay they) [ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (*g*)] *out of very nothing*.

a Plut. de Procr. An. p. 1014.
b Theodor. l. 2. de Cur. Græc. Affect.
c See Hieroclis l. de Provid. p. 8.
d Plato in Timæo de An. Mundi, p. 94. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ὕλην, ἀΐδιον μὲν ἔφα, &c. Ibid. περὶ δὲ ἀγενὲς γενέσθαι, λόγῳ ἴσην ἰδέᾳ τε καὶ ὕλα.
* Plato in Timæo, p. 30. of the Demiourgus, that εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας.
e Plut. de Procr. An. p. 1014. B.
* Plato in Tim. de An. Mundi, p. 94.
f Heb. 11. 3. Wiſd. 11. 17. —ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.
g 2 Mac. 7. 28. —ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός. LXX. The ſaying of the Hebrew Mother of the ſeven Sons to the youngeſt of them ready to ſuffer by Antiochus.

Matter, therefore (the moſt ſimple *Hyle*) is with them eternal; and makes up a *fourth thing* in the firſt *Quaternio* of the *Pythagorick Tetractys*; the three firſt being *T' Agathon or Aitia, Nous or Logos, Pſyche or Demiourgus.*

A. I had thought with ſome in *Druſius* on the name *Jehovah*, that the *Tetractys* was the *Tetragrammaton*, that ſecret and myſterious name of God moſt high, which *Pythagoras* revealed to the Gentiles.

B. By no means. Had it been in his time ſo ſuperſtitiouſly reverenced, and a name above all other names, a *Jew* would never have caſt ſuch a Pearl before a Gentile (and eſpecially before ſuch a one, a kind of Magical Gentile) whom he had in abhorrence as much as a ſwine. This name was no myſtery among the *Greeks*, as is evident from the mention of *Jerombalus* [or *Jerombaal*] a Prieſt of the God Ἰαω in *Sanchuniathon*: of *Jaho* in St. *Hierom*, and the *Sibylline Oracles*: of *Jaoth*, or *Jaoh* in *Irenæus*: of the *Hebrew*-God called Ἰαῶλα by the *Gnoſticks*, in a Manuſcript of *Origen* (*a*), ἀπὸ Ἀρχῶν: of Ἰαωὶ in *Clemens Alexandrinus*: of Ἰάω, the firſt Principle of the firſt *Gnoſtick* Heaven in *Epiphanius*: the God of *Moſes* in *Diodorus Siculus*: the God *Bacchus* in the Oracle of *Apollo Clarius*; and laſtly (as was ſaid) of the *Samaritan* God Ἰαβὲ in *Theodoret.* And certainly the *Jews* before the Captivity knew well enough how to pronounce this name; nor doth it appear in all the Bible that they feared to reveal it.

(*a*) Cited by *Fuller* in *Miſcel.* L. 4. c. 13.

A. What meaneth that place in *Exod.* 6. 3. *But by my name* יהוה *was I not known unto them?*

B. It meaneth that God having actually given defence and plenty to *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, was already known to them by the names of *El*, Almighty; and *Schadai*, Alſufficient. But that having not fulfilled

to

to them his Promise * of giving to them or their seed, the Land of *Canaan*; was not yet known to them by his name *Jehovah* or *Jahveh*, which comes from [היה] *Hajah*, which signifies to *Be* and *Exist*; and imports a *God constant to his word, and the same to day, yesterday, and for ever.*

* Exod. 6. 3, 4, to v. 9.

A. If the *Tetractys* of *Pythagoras* be not the *Tetragrammaton* of *Moses*; what other thing is it?

B. I can judg it no other thing than that which *Plutarch* thought it (*b*), *The Pythagorean World.* This World (as the same *Plutarch* * observeth) consisteth of a *double Quaternary.* The Quaternary of the Intellectual World is *T' Agathon, Nous, Psyche, Hyle.* The Quaternary of the sensible World (which is most properly the *Pythagorean* Κόσμος) is Fire, Air, Water, and Earth; The four Elements (*c*) called by the name of εἰζώματα, (the Roots or Principles of all mixed Bodies) in these ancient *Greek* Verses:

b Plut. de Isid. p. 381, 382. Τετρακτύς — ὁ κόσμος ὠνήμασται.

* Plutarch. de Anima procr. p. 1027. F.

c Hesych. Τετρακτυς, Πυθαγορικὸς ὅρκος, ἤγουν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων σημαίνων.

Τέσσαρα γὰρ (d) πάντων εἰζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε.
Ζεὺς ἄργης, Ἥρητε φερέσβιος αἰθὴρ, ἠδ' Αἰδωνεύς,
Νῆστίς θ' ἣ δακρυόις τέγγει κρίνωμα βρότειον.

d Plut. de Plac. Phil. c. 3. p. 878 Sext. Empir. cont. Math. p. 367.

That is, *Jupiter* the Fire, *Juno* the Air, *Pluto* the Earth, and *Nestis*, or the womb, the Water, are the four Roots of all Things.

The like we find in the Form of the *Pythagorick* Oath, in these words (*a*):

a See Jambl. de vitâ Pythag. c. 28. p. 138. Macr. de Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 6.

οὐ, (b) μὰ τὸν, ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχᾷ, παραδόντα Τετρακτὺν,
Παγὰν, ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ', ἔχουσαν.

b ναὶ in Hier. Aur. Carm.

A. This to me is a *Pythagorick* Riddle. How do you expound it?

B. I construe the Dystich thus: "No [or yea], By "Him from whom we learned the *Tetractys* (for they "swore by their Master *) a fountain containing in it "the

* See Hier. in Carm. Pyth. p. 231. & Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. c. 20.

" the Roots (or Elements) of *everflowing Matter.* For so I interpret ἀεννάου φύσεως, * not as some of eternal Matter, of which the Elements are not the Roots, and which is not here spoken of; but of *the second Matter* which perpetually changeth its shapes; the *first* being neither *this* or *that*, but *ingenerable and incorruptible Hyle.*

* See *Not. in Hier. Carm. Pyth.* p. 377.

Now if I am mistaken in this notion of the *Tetractys*, I err with company. For *Hierocles* in a place little observed, does seem to say the same thing. The *Tetrad* (said he *) is Δημιουργὸς, *the framer of all things*; and " Αἰτία, *the cause*, [or the *T' Agathon*, frequently so " called by the modern *Platonists*;] and Θεὸς νοητὸς, the " *Idea* or Intellectual World; αἴτιος τοῦ οὐρανίου καὶ αἰσθητοῦ Θεοῦ, " *The cause of the Heavenly* [that is of the ethereal first) " *Matter*, and of that which is *sensible.*

* *Hitr. in Carm. Pyth.* p. 229, 230.

A. This Interpretation of the *Tetractys* seems not wide of the scope of *Pythagoras* and *Plato.* But for the *Triad*, methinks you are more severe than you need to be in explaining, or (to express your humour more properly) in exposing of it. There must surely be somewhat more Divine in that Notion than you allow, seeing it hath spread it self very widely among the Gentiles, and thereby seems the dictate of that reason which is common to them all.

B. You argue upon an usual mistake. Many such Doctrines are spread very far, but often they come from one only root; and that is not true reason, but the authority of some one fam'd Master in Learning. The Bellweather goes first, and a numerous flock follow him upon no other motive often-times, but because they see him go before them. *Orpheus* is followed by *Pythagoras*, and he by *Plato* and thousands of others in successive Ages.

A. There is no effect without its cause. What (I pray

pray you) did move *Orpheus*, or *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or him whoever he was that was the Beginner to take up at first this Doctrine of the *Triad*?

B. The other extream opinion of those Philosophers who were *meer Atomists*.

A. How could that be? they were the followers of *Moschus* or *Mochus*, that is *Moses*, whom *Orpheus* and *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, rather follow than contradict.

B. That *Moschus* was *Moses*, Mr. *Selden*, *Arcerius* in his Notes on *Jamblicus*, and divers others seem to believe, for no other reason that I know of than because the names are a little like one another. But *Mochus* or *Moschus* was plainly a *Phœnician* of later times, and one who opened a School at *Sidon* (*a*). He is the same with Ωχος in *Laertius* and *Suidas*. *Laertius* (*b*) maketh him a *Phœnician*, and one of those Barbarians as he calls them, from whom Philosophy had its birth, e're it was propagated in *Greece*. And he numbers him with *Zamolxis* the *Thracian*, *Atlas* the *Libyan*, and *Vulcan* the *Egyptian*.

But it is not of any moment, here to inquire any further about him. I know not whether he were such an Atomist as I am here speaking of; to wit, a *perfect Materialist*, denying the Existence and the very notion of Incorporeal substance. In opposition to such the *Pneumatists* framed the *Platonick Triad* after this manner: The *Somatists* or *Materialists* supposed nothing to be in the world but Body, and all body to exist eternally of it self, in its essence though not in its modes, without all cause. The *Pneumatists* opposed this *Dogma* by asserting one supreme Incorporeal substance, the *Aitia* or cause of all Beings besides its own: the *T' Agathon*, or fountain-good whence all Essence flowed. The *Materialists* supposed that this visible World was the only World, and that all Ideas and all pretences of Incorporeal

a See *Strab.* l. 16. *Geograp.* p. 757. *Athen. Deipn.* l. 2. p. 44. l. 7. c. 5. p. 278. *Jambl. de vitâ Pythag.* c. 3. p. 32, 33. *Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem.* p. 367.

b *Laert. in Proem.* p. 1. Φοινικα τα γενεσθαι τον Ωχον, ὃν Θρᾷκα Ζαμολξιν, &c.

poreal Beings, were but ſo many impreſſions of motion on the brain. This *Dogma* the *Pneumatiſts* oppoſed by aſſerting *ſeparate Ideas* and *an Intellectual World*; a *Nous* or *Logos*.

The *Materialiſts* ſuppoſed the frame of the viſible World to have been made at adventure, and by a fortuitous concourſe of Atoms. The *Pneumatiſts* oppoſed this *Dogma*, by affirming *two things*: Firſt, that there was not only Matter and Motion, but a *Demiourgus*, an Incorporeal workman, governing the diſorderly motion of the Chaos, and diſpoſing of the rude Materials in it into a Regular Syſtem. *Secondly*, That this Artificer did not work at adventure, but accorrding to an excellent *Exemplar*, laid before him.

A. I perceive you ſtill ſo explain this *Triad*, that you will not allow *Plato to Chriſtianize*. Nay I find elſewhere (*c*) that you do not think him ſo much as to *Moſaize*; which is very hard meaſure, and ſuch as others have not meted to him.

c Ch 9. p.165.

B. I do not ſay that he did not *Moſaize*, but that to me it was not manifeſt that he did.

A. When he ſaith in his *Timæus*, (*a*) That the Father having made the World was exceedingly tranſported at the work of his hands; doth he not borrow from *Moſes*, who ſaid (*b*), *That God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.*

a *Plato in Timæo*, p.37.

b Gen. 1. 31.

B. It is not manifeſt that he did. It is natural for any man to ſay after the deſcription of an excellent and an agreeable performance, that the Artiſt was pleaſed with what he had done. Further, it is here to be obſerved, that *Plato* in that place ſpeaketh not as *Moſes* of God, the ſupreme *ſelf-originated Father*, but of the third Principle, or *Demiourgus*, whom he ſtileth emphatically the *Father* and *Genitor* of the viſible World. For to the *T' Agathon Plato* aſcribes not ſuch Father-

Fatherhood and Generation; but ſays, of all things flowing from him, that they were *unbegotten*; that is, not formed, as he ſays this World was, out of *præexiſtent Matter by* Pſyche.

A. Though the *Demiourgus* of *Plato* may not be the *Moſaic* maker of the World, yet he may ſeem at leaſt to be the *Spirit* of God, which (as *Moſes* teacheth *) *moved upon the face of the waters.* For *Plato* maketh his *Third principle* to agitate the *Chaos.*

* Gen. 1. 2.

B. Neither is that evident; for the Text may be interpreted of a *Wind of God*, that is, according to the *Jewiſh* Idiom, of a *mighty wind* ſo moving. The *Winds of God* (ſaith the *Arabick* Verſion) *blew upon the face of the waters.*

A. Though you evade this, yet I hope you will grant ſomething in favour of *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato.* You will grant ſure that they received the Doctrine of the *Immortality of the Soul* from the *Cabala of Moyſes*, and were thereby great Benefactors to the Gentile-world, and prediſpoſed it for the reception of the Chriſtian Faith.

B. That kind of Immortality which they held was not agreeable to Chriſtian Doctrine. They aſſerted indeed the Incorporeal and indiſſoluble nature of the ſubſtance of mans ſoul; but by the Dogma of its Circulation through ſeveral Bodies, they taught a falſe and uncomfortable Faith which our Lord never juſtified. He taught not only that the Soul was not a concretion of ſeparable Atoms, and that it was a ſubſtance not to be killed, a ſubſtance ſubſiſting after death; but that it was, if *righteous*, *immortal in unchangeable bleſſedneſs.* He did not diſhearten the virtuous by ſaying (as did *Pythagoras*) that the Soul after having attained the height of the Heavenly ſtate, might come down again from the top of the Circle, and be happy and

unhappy in *eternal Rotations* and Viciſſitudes. For this reaſon St. *Auſtin* in the firſt Book (*c*) of his *Retractations*, ſpeaking of the Souls aſcent into Heaven, thinketh it had been ſafer to have expreſſed himſelf by the word *Going*, than that of *Returning*; leſt any ſhould believe he favoured the *Platonick* notion of its being thruſt down from its ſeat in Heaven.

c S. *Aug. Retract.* l. 1. c. 1. p. 4. *Ed. Par.* 1677. Iturus, *autem, quam* Rediturus, *dixiſſem ſecuriùs, propter eos qui putant Animos humanos pro meritis peccatorum ſuorum de cœlo lapſos ſivè dejectos, in corpora iſta detrudi.*

A. Of *Platoniſm*, enough. I will trouble you again, as I did at the beginning, with a few Remarks of another kind; and then I will ſuffer you to be quiet.

B. Pray let us hear them.

A. In *Chap.* 5. *pag.* 52. you make *Pagods* to be the *Statues*, whereas they are only the *Temples* of Idols.

B. I uſe not my own words, but *Vincent le Blanc's*, and with him many others agree; though I do not remember that either in Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies* (*a*), or in *Monſieur Tavernier*'s Travels (*b*), *Pagod* is otherwiſe uſed than for a Temple. But why may it not ſignifie both the Statue and the Temple? At *Rome* they do not think it abſurd to call, the Saint, the Church, the Image, *Sancta Maria.*

a Sir *T. Roe*'s Voyage, p. 440.
b *Tavernier*'s Voy. part. 2. p. 166.

A. It may be ſo. I paſs to another Note. In *Chap.* 6. *pag.* 97, 98. you expound the *ſecond Commandment*, or prohibition of a Vow forbidden to be made to an *Idol or Vanity*, in the name of *El*, *Elohim*, *Jehovah*, or (if you will have it ſo) *Jahveh*; or in any other name of the God of *Iſrael.* So far the Novelty, perhaps, is paſſable. But then to obviate an Objection which may be made from our Lords Interpretation, [*Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf*,] you add this, "That he who vow-"eth by an Idol, ſeeing he cannot be enabled by it to "perform his Vow, is therefore in effect forſworn. And this looks more like an *Evaſion* than an Anſwer.

B. It doth ſo. Nor will I go about either to defend that, or the Expoſition which occaſioned it. Thus much

much only I chuſe to ſubjoin: That a *Jew* or a Chriſtian vowing by an Idol though coloured with ſome *Name* of the true God, is actually forſworn; becauſe he breaketh either the Moſaical, or Evangelical Covenant, an eſpecial part of which is the renunciation of the worſhip of all Dæmons (*).

(*) See Mr. *Thorndike's* Weights and Meaſ. *chap.* 23. p. 168.

In ſpeaking to the firſt Commandment, in p. 97. I am guilty of a fault of omiſſion which you take no notice of.

A. What may that be?

B. I ought to have obſerved that the *Jews* did generally interpret that *Prohibition*, againſt the worſhip, not ſo much of any other *ſupreme god*, as of the *middle powers*, or ſuppoſed *Mediators*, betwixt God and Man.

A. There needs no command againſt the worſhip *of many ſupreme gods*; that being a contradiction to the ſenſe of mankind.

B. True; when you uſe the words, *many ſupremes*. But the common people think not of the World, as one Body neceſſarily placed under one Governour; but they may be brought to think of the Kingdom of Heaven, as they do of the kingdoms in this world, where there *is no Univerſal Monarch*. They may think there are ſeveral coequal gods, in their ſeveral Precincts. Nay, generally the Barbarous in ſeveral Countries, may be apt to think their Topical god ſuperior to all others. The ignorant Frier thought the *French* King his Maſter, the greateſt on earth, when he irreverently compared him to God the Father, and called our Holy Lord the *Dauphine* of Heaven. And ſome poor Peaſants believe there is ſcarce one higher on earth than the Lord of the Mannor.

A. I have met with ſuch in my time. But, I go on. In Chap. 6. p. 122, and in other places, you much

much disparage the Ancient Histories of *Greece.*

B. *Plato* himself (*a*) speaking of the *first Phoroneus*, *Deucalion*, and others, suggesteth that their stories are fabulous. And that which he there remembers of the Discourse of the Priests of *Sais* to *Solon*, about the Antiquities of *Egypt* and *Greece*, and of *Athens* as an *Egyptian* Colony, is, at first hearing, so Idle a Tale, that I wonder the Philosopher, or any discreet Reader of him, hath had any reverence for it.

A. I confess, I have not. Give me leave to trouble you with one objection more. In Chap. 7. p. 146. You say *Two things* concerning the Idolatry of the *Mahometans* which will not pass. *First*, You affirm that they pray to *Mahomet*: whereas they are forbidden to do any such thing by their great Article, *of Faith in one God. Secondly*, You say, *it is most notorious* that they do so; whereas some judicious Persons who have lived amongst them, and such who are of better credit than the Author you cite, do profess they could never observe them doing it.

B. To your *first* exception, I thus answer. Their Article, *of Faith in one God*, was not so much designed against the worship of subordinate powers, as against the acknowledgment of three coequal Subsistences in the God of the Christians. It is one of the Dogmata of the Moslemans (saith *Gabriel Sionita* (*b*)), *That God is One; and that there is no other equal to Him. And this last Clause Mahomet added with direct design against the Christian Trinity.* And he would not have been so vehement, in his charge of Idolatry against the Christians, if they had worshipped Christ and the Holy Ghost with subordinate honour, and not as very God.

For your *second* Exception, I must confess that the words [*most notorious*] may seem a little too bold; they

a *Plato* in *Timæo.* p. 22. —ὡς διεγένοντο μυθολογεῖν.—

b *Gabr. Sion. de urb. & Mor. Orient.* c. 14. p. 76, 77. *Hanc ult. partic. directè contra Christianos protulit*, &c.

they relating to a matter which is under diſpute: as likewiſe that, on your ſide, there are Authors (*a*) of better credit then *Monſieur de la Guilliotiere* whom I have produced. I have not much relyed upon his word ſince I was taught by a perſon of great integrity (*b*), that his Book of *Athens* to his knowledg was wide of the truth.

(*a*) See *T. S.* of the Relig. of the *Turks*, p. 53.

(*b*) Mr. *Vernon* in his Letter from *Smyrna*, in *Oldenburg's* Tranſact. N. 124. p. 579.

But Monſieur *de la Guilliotiere* is not my only Author. I am told by others that the worſhip of *Heroes*, and truſt in their Aids as *Patrons* under God, is to be charged on *Mahometans*, if not on the conſtitution of *Mahomet* who taught expreſly (*c*) the Interceſſion of Saints.

(*c*) *Gabr. Sion. ubi ſupra.*

Busbequius relateth (*d*) that the *Turks* believe their Hero *Chederle* (a kind of *Mahometan* St. *George*) to be propitious in War, *to all who implore his Aid.* He further telleth that the *Dervi*, or *Turkiſh* Monks, ſhewed him the Sepulchres of the Relations of *Chederle*; and *would have gladly perſwaded him that many benefits were daily conferred from Heaven on thoſe who at thoſe chres petitioned them for aſſiſtance.*

(*d*) *Busbequius*, Epiſt. 1. p. 53.

Francis Barton a learned *Engliſh* man, and no ſtranger in *Turkey*, diſcourſing of the manners of that people, giveth this as an inſtance of their Veneration of Saints. "The Admiral (ſaith he) of the Imperial Fleet, "during fourteen days before he ſet ſail, was obliged "to go once a day to the Sepulchre of *Iſuppus*, an emi- "nent and fortunate Warrier, and there to pray for "ſucceſs.

Septem-Caſtrenſis was detained many years among the *Mahometans*. And he (in the fifteenth Chapter of his Book, *de Turcarum Moribus*) is large in mentioning their Guardian-Heroes, in whom they put ſubordinate truſt.

One (it ſeems) is called *Sedichaſi*, which they interpret,

*

teth, *Holy Conquerour*, or *Victorious among the Saints.* And of him (he saith) it is the common opinion, that no man was ever sent away unanswered, who in any necessity prayed to him for succour, especially in any emergency of War. He is (as he proceeds) as famous among the *Turks*, as St. *Anthony* among [some] Christians. Another is called *Harschi Pettesch*, which they interpret, *The help of Travel.* He is (he saith) much *invoked and reverenced* by strangers and pilgrims, and (as they report) not in vain. A third is called *Ascick passa*, as much as to say, *Patron of love*, and he is invoked in Matrimonial cases. A fourth is called *Gotvel mirtschin*, and is a kind of *Patron of Cattel.* To him (saith *Septemcastrensis*) my *Mistress* prayed, and vowed to make him a yearly present of Butter for the Custody of her Kine, which also she performed. And (as he goes on) she would have perswaded me to have invoked him, that the Sheep I kept might by him have been protected from the Wolves that infested us.

If all this be true, and the *Mahometans* invoke so many other Heroes; methinks they should not forget for ever to call on *Mahomet* himself, the Prince of their Saints, and their chief Intercessor [*a*] with God.

For the honour they do to the Relick of his *Sandal* preserved at *Mecha* [*b*]: For their worshipping of the place where they supposed *Abraham* to have dwelt [*c*]: For their embracing and kissing the stone *Brachthan*, on which they say *Abraham* accompanied with *Hagar* [*d*]: Lastly, for their moving round about a statue of stone, erected in the midst of the Temple at *Mecha*, with stooping shoulders, one hand lifted up, and another on one of the ears, till a *Vertigo* lays them on the floor (a thing it seems told *Zigabenus* * by a *Turk* turned Christian) I forbear to enlarge upon them, and leave the whole to the Perusers of such Authors as *Taver-*

a Patricidas ap. Hott. Hist. Orient. p.254.
b Tavern. Rel. of the Seragl. c.12. p. 64.
c Benj. Itiner. p.60.——religiosè colentis.——
d Euthym. Zigab. p.14.
* Zigab. ibid.

Tavernier, Benjamin, Zigabenus, Busbequius, Barton.

A. I muſt needs be ſatisfied with the authorities you have brought. There remain divers Animadverſions yet behind; but I will neither tire you or my ſelf any further: I ſee 'tis eaſier to raiſe Cavils than to write any thing that is not liable to them. I beg your pardon for the rude Interruption I have given you, and think my ſelf obliged in common civility to bid you *Adieu.*

B. You have not offended, unleſs you have done ſo by your Complement. And becauſe I perceive you are falling into a vein of Ceremoniouſneſs, which is ſo idle a thing in private converſation, and amongſt old Friends, I will be contented for this time to part with you. So, *Fare you well.*

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